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THE MOGUL, MAHRATTA AND SIKH
EMPIRES IN THEIR ZENITH AND FALL.*

BY SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN, Q.C.

THE subject with which I purpose to deal in this paper may appear at first sight to possess only an academical interest. But I venture to think that it has a practical as well as a historical aspect, which may not be unattractive to those—and I would fain hope that I may include most, if not all, of my readers in this category—who regard India not merely as a land of regrets and exile, but as a region which claims our deepest sympathy and attention, which is full of instruction for us, and which a happy destiny—happy for us, and happy for its people—has united with the British Empire—a union, let us hope, which future centuries will only serve to strengthen and cement more firmly and closely. If I ask them to consider particular portions of the past history of this much-coveted land, it is because the portions I have so selected present to our view a few cameos of the richest and most typical setting, which are not only in themselves deserving of our close attention, but which acquire a still greater importance when considered from the point of view of later events.

In choosing, therefore, as my theme the rise and fall of the

* For the discussion of this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in the *Review*.—ED.

three great Asiatic empires which were founded on the soil of India between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which mark the rise and decay of three great and distinct nationalities—the Mogul, Mahratta and Sikh—I desire to draw from the most stirring pages of the history of India, and especially from the political aspects of that period, a study and a contrast which, I think, will possibly not be devoid of interest. It may be I have nothing new to state, and that some have studied the historical periods embraced within this paper more thoroughly and minutely than I can claim to have done myself. But there is a fascination at times in even rehearsing what is old, in recalling the stirring events of a bygone age, and in listening once again to the deeds and prowess of some favourite hero or heroine, and in comparing or contrasting the same with the story of some other national character, who in like manner may have built an empire or founded a dynasty. If my readers will give me their indulgence, I shall try in the short space to which I am necessarily restricted to reinterest them in the history of three of the most remarkable empires, and in that of three of the most interesting nationalities, of all the many that have held sway over the broad plains of India. And what magnificence, splendour and power; what courage, heroism and magnanimity; what statecraft, administrative capacity and skill in organization; and yet withal what cruelty, oppression, and treachery, are centred round these three great historical nationalities! Alternately illuminating and darkening the pages of Indian history for three centuries, arousing on the one hand our admiration and wonderment, and on the other our contempt and horror; now acclaimed by an easily contented subject-population for a passing rule of justice and toleration; now accursed for the miseries, extortions, and corruptions following a long course of tyranny and oppression; now blazing forth in the majesty of Oriental splendour, and irresistible in the tide of victory and triumph; and now crumbling into premature decay under the accumulated load of vice and of every sort of sensual indulgence;

languishing for a brief period in a state of helplessness and inanition, and then yielding the sceptre to a stronger power from the West, destined to construct and consolidate, to bring peace and security, to repress the lawless and protect the weak, to insure justice and to punish wrong, to substitute tolerance for bigotry, freedom for slavery, purity for corruption, enlightenment for ignorance, to develop the resources of the country, to proclaim and maintain the supremacy of the laws, and to embrace all the diverse races of India, irrespective of class, religion or caste, into one sacred and inviolable roll of citizenship under the dominating ægis of the British flag.

Differing as the Mogul, Mahratta and Sikh nationalities did in all essential characteristics—in race, religion, habits and customs—they each had this element in common, that each of them rose to empire under the guidance of a youthful and an unlettered leader. Akbar, Sivaji, and Ranjit Singh, great commanders and great administrators, who raised the fortunes of their respective nations when these were at the lowest ebb, and who showed a genius and capacity for rule which places them a head and shoulders above their contemporaries, were devoid of book-learning, and were even said to be incapable of writing their own names, though Akbar is reputed to have composed some indifferent poetry. But in the founding of empires a cool head, a brave soul, and a stout arm, have accomplished more than the culture of the scholar or the learning of the philosopher. Nature steps in where art is wanting, and supplies the nerve, the resolution, the genius, to conceive and to work out what educational culture would most probably have put aside as chimerical, fatuous, or impossible. Not that the three great empire-builders that have just been named worked out their majestic plans on the same broad lines. Nature, it is true, was the instructress in each instance, but in each she was faithful to the needs of the individual environment. What was necessary for the success of an Akbar would have wrecked the fortunes of a Sivaji and prevented

Ranjit Singh from establishing a Sikh kingdom in the north-west of India. Akbar's sphere of operations embraced large provinces and principalities, while those of Sivaji were confined to the limits of Maharashtra, and those of Ranjit Singh to the territories between the river Sutlej and the mountain barriers of Hazara and Peshawar on the north-west. Where personal bravery and activity were required in Akbar's case to be tempered by prudence and caution, and where the skillful employment of other agencies was an unavoidable necessity, in the case of the Mahratta or the Sikh the personal element alone contributed to initial success. Without restless activity, dash and reckless courage, Sivaji could not have risen from comparative obscurity to the acknowledged sovereignty of the Mahratta tribes. And without the same qualities, coupled with matchless skill in the arts of deceit and treachery, which an Akbar would have scorned to have used, the one-eyed lion of the Punjab would not have converted the leadership of a small Sukarchakia confederacy into the powerful sovereignty of a united Sikh kingdom. Again, while Akbar had to reconstruct the empire, which the genius of his grandfather Baber had won, and which the ill-fortune of his luckless father Humaiyun had almost lost, the Mahratta and the Sikh had no hereditary burdens to discharge, and no responsibilities to respect. Sivaji and Ranjit Singh were creatures of the time, adventurers who saw in the weakness of the Muhammadan Rajput or Sikh States of the period their own opportunities for advancement, and seized upon them with the boldness and selfishness of a Napoleon. Their rise to power was more sudden, more Napoleonic in its glamour and meteoric brilliance, but less consolidated and less enduring than that of Akbar. The Mahratta and Sikh sovereignties vanished as they arose, leaving nothing but ruin, terror and intrigue in their van. The empire of Akbar at his death extended eastward in an unbroken line from Cabul to Bengal and Orissa, and included the greater part of Central and Western India. He thus left to his successors a magnificent inheritance,

which a series of dissolute and incompetent Princes allowed to perish.

To group together these three types of Asiatic governments, ruled respectively by a Moslem, a Mahratta, and a Sikh—the first of which had died of inanition before it came into conflict with British arms, while the two last were crushed by the latter—and then to contrast them with the system which took their place, is the most effective method of drawing up a debtor and creditor account between them, and of showing the people of India what, under the most favourable circumstances, they might expect if the protection of the British *raj* no longer existed, and what, on the other hand, is their present condition under the supremacy of that *raj*.

The Mogul Empire dates rightly, not from the advent of Baber, but from the victory of Panipat—that great battleground of conflicting armies—gained by Akbar, his grandson, under the experienced generalship of Bairam Khan (1556 A.D.). Baber had, indeed, extended his conquests from the gates of Cabul to the banks of the Narbadá, but he did not live long enough to consolidate his power; and his son and successor, Húmayún, was not the man to weld together a newly constituted empire, made up of territories acquired by conquest from various divergent races, into one strong homogeneous whole. With no force of character, with no power of concentration, courageous but irresolute, accomplished but incapable of steady application to affairs of state, a witty companion and a generous master, the fitful career of Húmayún, an Emperor one day and a fugitive the next, was but a reflection of his own character—a combination of virtues and weaknesses which unfitted him to sustain the inheritance which his father had bequeathed to him. But in Akbar the Moslem world again points with pride to those qualities for universal rule which were the glory of the early Saracen Caliphs. At the age of fourteen the task of reconstructing the empire of Baber, which his own father had lost, devolved upon Akbar, and on the field of Panipat, which may be called his baptism of

fire, he gave the first evidence of his prowess as a military commander and of his disinclination to strike a fallen foe. When his adversary Hemu, the chief Minister and general of Muhammad Shah Adil, was brought before him, and he was urged by Bairam Khan to prove his sword on the "infidel," Akbar's reply was characteristic of his chivalrous nature: "He is now," he said, "no better than a dead man. How can I strike him? Had he sense and strength I would fight him." And this was the feeling which more than once influenced his action in after life. Thus, in his second expedition against his rebellious feudatories in Western India, he suddenly came upon the enemy at night when they were not prepared for him, believing he was still at Agra. But in order not to fall upon them unawares, he ordered his trumpeters to sound the alarm, and refused to attack until the enemy had been drawn up and were prepared for battle. He then headed the advancing column, dashed into the river, and, forming up his troops on the opposite bank, charged the enemy with the fury of a tiger, and gained a decisive victory. Indeed, the promise of his early years was amply fulfilled in his long subsequent reign. Resembling Cæsar and Napoleon in the rapidity of his movements, he never shirked personal discomfort or shunned danger when in the battle-field. And although he was ever courteous, accessible, and affable to all who had occasion to approach him, no Oriental or European monarch had a loftier sense of the dignity of his position, or knew better how to display it with all the accessories of unbounded wealth and magnificence—with his 5,000 elephants and 12,000 led horses—than did this unlettered genius, whose Court was the resort of all that was worthiest in the land. Nevertheless,

"In himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horses led, and grooms besmeared with gold,
Dazzles the crowd."

Reading the accounts of this important reign which have come down to us from native and other sources, one is apt

to be carried away by too great an enthusiasm for the extraordinary man whose name sheds an imperishable lustre on the pages of the Mogul conquest of India. His conquests were more extended than those of his grandfather, and were more complete and durable. And yet Akbar was induced to undertake them, not for the mere sake of war or military glory, for he loved peace and the arts which flourish in times of peace; but he was too keen-sighted a statesman not to realize, as his British successors were themselves forced to do, that there could be no lasting peace in India so long as the various petty States throughout the great continent were not all brought into submission to acknowledge the supremacy of a single Lord Paramount. It was his aim and ambition to fill that rôle, and he practically succeeded in doing so before he died. But if in prosecution of this policy, matured and consistently carried out with the highest political wisdom, his armies were ever on the march of conquest, he, nevertheless, took infinite pains to secure that these marches should be accomplished with the least possible injury to non-combatants. In a century when wars were not conducted even in Western countries on those principles of humanity which have in more recent times served to a considerable extent to lessen the horrors of war, it is surprising to find an Oriental monarch organizing a practical system for compensating owners and cultivators of the land who suffered damage by the movements of his troops or of his own camp following. Assessors were appointed to examine the various encamping-grounds occupied by troops in their march, immediately on their vacating the same, and to assess the damage caused, which was either paid in cash to the landlords or raiyots concerned, or was deducted from the revenue assessments.

Again, the empire which Akbar aimed at establishing was not a Moslem empire to be conducted according to the principles of the Koranic law. It was to be universal in the sense of embracing *all* India, and it was to be cosmopolitan in the sense that it was to be governed by principles not peculiar to any given system, but by such as might

command the obedience of all men, whether Moslem, Brahmin, Mahratta, Rajput, or Sikh. With this view, he selected for his principal officers, civil and military, men of well-reputed merit, and in making his selection creed and race were factors which he discarded. What Thurloe said of Cromwell might be said with equal truth of Akbar, that "he sought out men for places, and not places for men." Thus, Hindus occupied some of the most important offices in the State, and were included, like Rajas Todar Mull and Jai Mall, amongst his most confidential advisers. Nor had he ever cause to regret the trust he placed in them, for they served him well and loyally. Amongst professing Moslems, the two men for whom he had the most sincere affection were the two famous brothers, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi. These men, liberal-minded like himself, free from all bigotry, accomplished scholars, and patrons of learning, were the Mæcenases of this Augustan age of Indian literature. It was under their influence that Akbar finally cast aside even a formal observance of the religion of the Koran.

A universal empire like his, administered on broad cosmopolitan principles, required a religion also which could appeal to mankind on high moral grounds—a religion, in fact, which could keep the moral conscience, or inner light of the human body, alive and shining, which was not intended merely to promote Islam, but to respect all consciences. What Akbar aimed at establishing was one of those forms of universal religion which was to unify mankind into a common brotherhood, and although, like other similar attempts, his also failed in its purpose, this need not prevent us from paying a generous tribute to the monarch whose mind was tolerant enough to conceive and to proclaim it. Akbar, indeed, appears in matters of faith and religion to have had a perfectly open mind, and as he was convinced that there was some truth in every religion, perhaps on Carlyle's principle that otherwise men would not have been found to take it up, he resolved to adopt that which was good, no matter in what religion it was to be found, and to discard the bad. Under the guidance of

his two most intimate friends, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi, he carved out a religion for himself based upon the above principles, which he styled "The Divine Faith" (Din-i-Ilahi), admission to which was open to all, but which no one was to be compelled to adopt. The spirit of aggressive proselytism was not Akbar's spirit. The consciences of men were to be overcome by reason, and not by the sword. "My sole object," Akbar was wont to say, "is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its Divine origin." Influenced as he was by such lofty motives, it was not surprising that religious toleration was as much respected in his reign as it is now in any Western country; and the magnificent hall he built at Futtchpur Sikri, which he set apart for religious discussions in which professors of every faith were cordially invited to take part, not only proves the religious tendency of Akbar's mind, but his liberality of sentiment and freedom from bigotry. In fact, as the author of the "*Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*" tells us, "His Court became the centre of attraction to all sects, persuasions, and people, to the learned of Khurásán, Irak, Máwaráu-n Nahr, and Hindustan, to doctors and theologians, to Shíahs and Sunnis, to Christians and philosophers, to Bráhmans and professors of every existing religion." So that we would not be far wrong if we said that his attitude towards other religions might, perhaps, be best expressed in the words of one of the last of the great Roman pagans, Symmachus, that "the Great Mystery cannot be approached by one avenue alone"; while St. Augustine's notion of a future state, "of which the King is truth, the law is love, and eternity the bourn," would undoubtedly have received Akbar's cordial assent.

Turning to the internal administration of the country, the point which mostly interests a modern student is the system of land revenue which was introduced during the reign of the great Mogul Emperor. It is true that under the immediately preceding administration of the usurper Sher Khan, who had risen to power in the troublesome

days of Húmayún, and had assumed the royal dignity under the title Sher Shah, Sultan-i-Adil, some laudable efforts had been made to protect the agriculturist, and that an assessment had been introduced based on a measurement of the cultivation and an appraisalment of the various crops. But Sher Shah's brief term of power, followed by the weak reign of an incompetent son, had not sufficed to cause his excellent measures to take any permanent root in the country; while the anarchy which more or less prevailed between the year 1545 A.D. (when Sher Shah was killed) and the year 1556 A.D. (when Akbar gained his decisive victory at Panipat) produced its natural effect in driving the agriculturist from the pursuit of his peaceful occupation. It was thus reserved for Akbar to recall the ploughshare to its work, and he early set himself to introduce a system which would promote the cultivation of the land which was then lying neglected. It is this system, as described in the "*Ayin-i-Akbari*," which, with certain modifications, was eventually adopted, or at least formed the groundwork of that introduced, by the British Government in effecting a land settlement in the various provinces of our great Empire in the East. Previous to Akbar's day the cultivator had been robbed to a large extent of the fruit of his labour, with the natural result that this labour was grudgingly given. To encourage agriculture, which Akbar had observed in his various warlike expeditions to be largely neglected, it was above all things needful, in the first instance, to fix the Government demand, which had hitherto been of a fluctuating character, dependent on the necessities of the imperial treasury, on a basis which would leave a sufficient margin to the occupier of the land to repay him for the labour he was required to spend upon its cultivation.* Fortunately for the Emperor, he had in his service a Hindu Prince who was well qualified to undertake the task of introducing a land settlement, which he entrusted to his hands. This was the famous Raja Todar

* Akbar fixed it at one-third, which could be paid, at the option of the occupier, either in kind or in cash by appraisalment.

Mull, a native of Laharpur in Oude, though the "Maásir-ul-Umara" erroneously says he was born in Lahore. He is described in the "Akbarname" as an honest, sincere man, and devoid of avarice. It was said of him that he was a bigoted Hindu, incapable of transacting his duties unless surrounded by his household idols. And Abul Fazl adds, "Would that he had been free from hatred and revenge, and that harshness had not been so conspicuous in his character!" Be this as it may, he proved himself a good general and an expert in matters of revenue administration, and his system of making ten yearly assessments, based on the average production for a period of nineteen years of soils of different varieties, with a complete record of each land-holder's rights and liabilities, a liberal provision for remissions in bad seasons, and for the supply of seed-grains from royal storehouses, placed the agriculturist in a far better position than he had ever previously enjoyed. But in two important respects this system will not compare favourably with that which prevails under British rule. In the first place, Akbar did not succeed in elevating the position of the individual tiller of the soil, or in securing him rights independently of the land-owner or farmer, such as he now enjoys. In the next place, the assessments were relatively much higher than those which are now enforced, and it cannot be doubted that, despite the excellent instructions issued to collectors of revenue, there were fewer effective checks against exaction than exist under our improved methods.

Nor in the administration of civil and criminal laws do we find Akbar less zealous for the proper vindication of justice in his dominions. It is true he did not imitate the crude attempt of Sultan Sher Shah to frame a distinctive code of laws of his own, which he was doubtless aware had irritated both Moslems and Hindus alike. As the former were accustomed to regard the Koran and the latter the Shastras as containing Divine ordinances, which no human legislation, however wise or beneficent, could improve,

Akbar wisely enough abstained from attempting to play the rôle of a Justinian, and he left his courts to administer these laws according to the requirements of each case. But he was by no means indifferent to the mode in which his judges performed their duties; misconduct on their part, we may well believe, would have incurred his severest displeasure, and as the ultimate judge, whose sense of justice and right was completely unfettered, his authority could at all times be invoked by the injured suitor, and their knowledge of this fact doubtless had considerable influence in keeping the judges up to a lively sense of their own responsibilities and duties. In the punishment of criminals Akbar frequently enjoined the courts to temper justice with mercy, and no death sentence could be executed until it had obtained his confirmation. Again, while Akbar allowed Hindus to live under the benefit of their own laws in regard to civil rights, he did not hesitate to interfere with the strict enforcement of those laws when they appeared to him cruel or unjust. Thus, he anticipated to some extent our own later legislation by nearly three centuries, by forbidding the compulsory burning of widows, the Hindu practice of ordeal, and the marriage of Hindu children before a fit age; while he also furnished us with a precedent for permitting Hindu widows to remarry. In these wise ordinances the Emperor gave further evidence of the qualities of a true statesman which every historian accords to him.

Such was the man who was the glory of the Mogul Empire, but who can scarcely be called a Muslim Sovereign.* If his character was not altogether stainless, we must remember the age and society in which he lived, and it must at all events be conceded that his record points him out as one of the most illustrious Oriental princes

* Cf. "Tarikh-i-Badauni," vol. ii., pp. 211, 255; vol. v., pp. 524, 528; Elliott's "History of India." Badauni says there was "not a trace of Islam left in Akbar," vol. v., *ibid.*, p. 527.

who have ever ruled in India. As it is finely said in a Persian couplet of Abul Fazl :

“Akbar the King illumines India's night,
And is a lamp in the Court of the House of Timur,”

which, if a poetical, is not a very extravagant estimate of Akbar's relation to the other imperial rulers of his race. A comparison has been suggested between Akbar and Charles I. of Spain, who was better known as Charles V. of Germany. But the comparison offers few resemblances. Like Charles, who finally abdicated, and thus closed his political career in January of the same year (1556) in which Akbar may be said to have begun his, the Delhi Emperor was left to guide the helm of empire while still a mere stripling (fourteen as compared with sixteen, the age at which Charles succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand); and again, like his European contemporary, he was continually engaged in wars to consolidate his vast empire. Both Sovereigns laboured conscientiously to discharge their high destinies in a becoming manner, and both were ready at all times to sacrifice ease and pleasure for the public welfare. Neither avoided labour or repined under fatigue in the arduous task of governing his extensive dominions, and both wielded the sceptre with a masterful hand. Both, again, on their death-bed assembled their nobles, and implored the forgiveness of anyone who had been wronged or neglected by them. But the similitude of the comparison cannot be extended much further. Akbar, as we have seen, freely employed Hindus in the highest offices of State, and showed no bias in favour of any creed or nationality. But Charles, who was born in Flanders, caused much discontent among his Castilian subjects by the undue favouritism he showed to his Flemish courtiers, on whom he bestowed every appointment of value. Again, Akbar, as I have pointed out, was most tolerant in matters of religion; but Charles had been too long under the tutelage of Adrian of Utrecht (afterwards Pope Adrian VI.)

to imbibe any such feeling towards a religion differing from that in which he had been educated.

If Charles ratified the Convention of Passau (1552), whereby the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion till the next Diet, he did it with no willing mind, and his whole previous attitude towards Luther and his followers was that of a temporizing policy with a latent but bitter spirit of hostility towards the Protestant schism. In a codicil to his will, written a few days before his death (1558), he commanded his son, Philip II., perhaps the most detestable monster and execrable bigot who ever wore a crown, to pursue and chastise the heretics with the utmost severity and vigour, to protect the holy office of Inquisition, and by this means "to deserve that our Lord will ensure the prosperity of his reign." Lastly, Charles was unlike Akbar in the result of his military exploits. Akbar was uniformly successful, but Charles, in his second war against Francis I. of France, lost half his army; while his siege of Algiers ended in disastrous failure (1541). On the whole, the comparison must be in favour of the Mogul Emperor. Nor would Akbar even compare unfavourably with two other contemporary European monarchs who were among the most eminent of their respective countries, namely, Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France.

But an Akbar is one of those rare and brilliant meteors which occasionally flash across and illumine the dark annals of the history of absolute monarchy, leaving a trail of light behind them even when they have vanished from sight. Akbar's immediate successors inherited scarcely any of his virtues, and had all the vices of the race to which they belonged. Jehangir was indolent, and had the Scythian love for wine and women. Shah Jehan was magnificent, and a great patron of architecture. The Táj Máhál, the Moti Musjid at Agra, and the Jama Musjid at Delhi, still survive to glorify his reign. But despite what Tavernier says of his reigning, "not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family," we cannot

forget that he caused his elder brother Khusru to be assassinated—at least, that was the general belief—that his sack of Agra was accompanied by the utmost cruelty and the perpetration of the grossest outrages on the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, that his marches while in rebellion against his father left desolation behind them, and can only be compared to the raids of an adventurer like Alá-ud-din, and that he also murdered his brother Shahryár and every member of the royal blood who was at all likely to prove a rival to his throne. Intrigue and assassination supplied the place of wisdom and firmness, and were the chief instruments of his administration. Most of the Hindu Princes who were devoted to Akbar were alienated by the intolerant spirit of Jehangir and of Shah Jehan, and became refractory and turbulent; and finally, under the unscrupulous fanatic who assumed the high-sounding title of Alamgir—the Conqueror of the World—the magnificent fabric of empire which Akbar had constructed, began, after temporarily reaching its widest limits, to experience the seeds of decay, so much so that even a friendly contemporary writer—Kháfí Khan—had to admit that Alamgir's government was a universal failure. It was in this reign that the Mahrattas rose to power, and we first hear of the Konkan freebooter Sivaji, of whom we shall have to speak at greater length presently. The subsequent history of Alamgir's successors is a history of crime, of fratricidal wars, of gross oppression, of weakness, of plots, of treacheries, and of incompetence. But so deep were the foundations on which Akbar had raised his great empire, that a certain halo still surrounded the throne of the Great Mogul, even after every spark of vitality had vanished from the administration which bore its name. The victory of Baxar gained by Major Munro in 1764 gave a death-blow to that empire in the North; its last vestiges of authority in the South had disappeared by 1761, and as the result of the third great battle of Panipat, fought in the same year between the Mahrattas and Ahmád Shah, the Durani invader, it lay pros-

trate at the mercy of the Afghan victor. The titular dignity no doubt survived for nearly a century longer, and only ceased to exist in January, 1858, when the then occupant of the throne, Bahadur Shah, was convicted of ordering a massacre of Christians and of waging war against the British Government. The Mogul Empire thus perished after an existence of exactly two centuries, unregretted and unmourned, not by conquest at the hands of the British, but by internal decay, by the operation of those same forces which caused the downfall of the Saracen, and which have reduced the Turkish Empire to a shadow. Self-indulgence on the part of the rulers, zenana influences and intrigues, religious intolerance, and insufferable arrogance, produced in each case the inevitable consequences of effeminacy, weakness, and hatred, subverting all authority and undermining the basis of all empire. But even in its zenith the Mogul Empire could not compare with the present paramount rule in India, either in its strength, its resources, its administrative machinery, or in its general solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of the people; and one can scarcely credit any well-informed Muhammadan, not to speak of Hindus, Mahrattas, Sikhs, and others, asserting the superiority of the Mogul as compared with the British rule.* If such a person should exist, let him read the account which a contemporary historian—Abdul Kadir Badauni—gives of the rapacity of the subordinate officials appointed to carry out Raja Todar Mull's reforms, and he will then have reason to bless his destiny that he has lived three centuries later, and under another and more enlightened and effective government. "A great portion of the country," says Badauni, "was laid waste through the rapacity of the Kroris, the wives and children of the raiyats were sold and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion."

* This comparison is not intended to detract from the credit abundantly conceded above to Akbar as an able and enlightened ruler; but conceding everything that the most enthusiastic admirer of the Great Emperor could justly claim for him, the opinion expressed in the text would nevertheless hold good.

And again : " So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes." The same historian, no doubt a severe critic, speaks of the prevalence of indulgence and debauchery, extravagance in household expenditure, and accumulation of riches, as rendering it impossible to maintain the soldiery or to foster the peasants.

If I turn, in the next place, to Sivaji and his successors, it is not with the view of drawing any direct comparison between them and their former Mogul lords, for one might just as reasonably attempt to compare a Gaulish chieftain with Julius Cæsar. But the Mahratta Empire carved out by Sivaji illustrates another type of Oriental government, which is important for the purposes of comparison from the point of view already indicated.

And although Sivaji is not to be placed on the same platform with Akbar, he is nevertheless a very remarkable man. An uncultured freebooter who was brought up in the wild mountains of the Konkan, a region which had never felt the heel of the conqueror, Sivaji imbibed that spirit of independence and love of adventure which could brook no superior, and which at an early age brought him into conflict with the Muhammadan Kings of Bijapur, and still later with the crafty Aurangzebe. Sivaji was a good archer, a skilful spearsman, a fearless rider, and an expert swordsman, accomplishments which marked him out for leadership amongst the lawless bands which then infested the country, and who readily joined his banner for the sake of plunder. While his father, Shahji, was serving the Government of the Sultan of Bijapur as a soldier of fortune in the Carnatic, and accumulating wealth, Sivaji was becoming the terror of that Government by the daring exploits he was performing in the districts of Poona and Sopa with the aid of his lawless Māwūlis. Now swooping down upon a treasure convoy, now attacking a hill fort, now sacking a rich town, now plunging his scorpion (*bichwa*) dagger into the vitals

of the unsuspecting representative of the Bijapur Government, who had consented to grant him a conference, and completing his deadly work with his steel claws (*wagnuch*), which he wore on his left hand, now entering with a few attendants at dead of night into the house of the Mogul Viceroy of the Deccan at Poona, and wounding him and killing his son and most of his personal guard, Sivaji was a constant nightmare to both the Great Mogul and the Sultan of Bijapur. But it is claimed for him that he at least respected cows, cultivators, and women, who were never molested ; and although he hated Muhammadans, he abstained, as a rule, from sequestering any grants which had been made by their rulers in support of tombs, mosques, or shrines. Bold in enterprise, he was as ready to resort to dissimulation, deceit, treachery, or abject submission, in order to attain his ends. With the instincts of a statesman and the genius of an administrator, he combined the cruel nature of the tiger whom he hunted in his native mountains. He not only raised a large army, consisting of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot, but he trained, disciplined, and officered it with a military insight and skill which excite our admiration. He also organized a powerful navy, consisting of eighty-seven vessels manned with 4,000 men, with which he made rapid descents on the Malabar coast and carried off much plunder. From a petty marauder he rapidly rose to a throne, and his empire at his death embraced nearly the whole of the Konkan, extending over 250 miles in length from Kalian to Goa, and 100 miles in breadth, besides scattered districts included in the Bijapur kingdom. Kings and Princes paid him tribute to purchase peace, and powerful Chiefs acknowledged his authority. No department of the State escaped his vigilance, his masterful mind grasped all details, and was the first to detect a blot in the administration. Implicit obedience was imposed upon both civil and military officials, and no departure from express instructions was permitted in any case.

Rigid economy was observed in every department, and

all State accounts had to be closed at the end of the year, when balances due to the Government were recovered. His revenue system was not so complex as that of Todar Mull, but was calculated to insure a fair return to the cultivator, and protect him from exaction at the hands of the subordinate officials. The Government share of the produce was fixed at two-fifths, and that of the ryot at three-fifths, which was slightly more favourable to Government than that taken under the Mogul system. No military contributions were permitted, and Sivaji very wisely set his face against two other evils which are commonly found to exist in native Governments of the older type. In the first place he abolished the practice of farming out the revenue, and insisted on all collections being made by officers appointed by himself; and in the next, he introduced a uniform system of paying all his servants in cash, refusing to adopt the proposal of making assignments for this purpose on portions of the revenue of certain villages. By this means he avoided many abuses, preserved a more effective check upon the Government realizations, and infused a higher sense of responsibility into the minds of officials of all classes. "Make your men do their duty" was the advice he gave his younger brother Venkajee in one of the last letters he ever dictated, and no ruler more completely acted up to this injunction than Sivaji himself. Each man in his administration had his allotted duty, and it fared ill with him if he failed to discharge it properly. But though a hard and severe task-master; Sivaji knew how to reward loyal services with a liberal hand. He thus had the good fortune to be well served, and this circumstance, coupled with his generous treatment of Brahmins, and his own orthodox Hinduism, have secured him more than a fair meed of praise at the hands of his native biographers. He is represented as an incarnation of the Deity, and his wisdom, piety, and fortitude are set as an example for all time. But candour compels the faithful historian to say that the boasted wisdom of Sivaji was of that crooked

kind which prefers deceit and treachery to fair and open dealing, and his piety was the outward observance of all the ceremonial usages of a polytheistic religion, dictated by narrow ignorance and inflamed by a highly superstitious nature. His fortitude amidst trials and reverses which would have crushed many another man certainly stands out in bold relief and claims our unstinted admiration. But if we take the man as a whole—this “mountain rat,” as Aurungzebe contemptuously called him—he presents such an amalgam of vice and virtue, in which the proportion of alloy is unhappily largely in excess of the pure metal, that it is impossible to hold him up for later generations,

“To serve as model for the mighty world,
And be the fair beginning of a time.”

A man who never hesitated to commit murder, who saw no harm in lying, who paved his way to power by plunder, treachery and bloodshed, who preferred to overcome an enemy by trickery rather than by a display of manly courage, is not a man for whom a distant generation can be expected to feel much respect or esteem. But his extraordinary success, his brilliant feats of arms, his personal daring and courage, his consolidation of the Mahratta power, and his administrative skill as a ruler, have converted him into a national hero whose name sheds a passing glamour over a brief page of Mahratta history, recalling the days of an empire which vied with the Mogul in greatness, and at the feet of which the Mogul Empire itself eventually lay prostrate.

A man like Sivaji, who founds an empire as the product of his own virile energy and prowess, is rarely followed by an able successor. His son Sumbhaji succeeded him in 1680 A.D.; but although he showed a certain vigour and capacity in the commencement of his reign, he was not fitted to wield the good sword Bhiwani which his father had bequeathed to him. Indeed, the innate barbarity of his disposition alienated his friends and made him odious to his subjects. He was captured in 1689 by a Mogul

officer, named Tukurrib Khan, who found him besotted with drink in his mountain retreat of Sungumeshwur, and he was soon afterwards publicly beheaded, his eyes having previously been burnt out with a red-hot iron, and his tongue removed for having blasphemed the Arabian Prophet. His son Sahu (or Shao) was for many years detained in the Mogul Court as a prisoner, but was eventually released and succeeded to his grandfather's throne. Long residence at the Mogul capital had accustomed Sahu to a life of ease and pleasure which unfitted him to rule a race like the Mahrattas. He willingly surrendered the reins to his Minister with the title of Peshwa, and contented himself with the society of the inmates of his seraglio. In that atmosphere he gradually sank into a state of mental imbecility, his chief amusement being in dressing out a favourite dog (which had once saved his life in a tiger-hunt) in gold brocade, covered with jewels, and placing his own turban on the animal. Upon his death (1750 A.D.) Poona became the capital of the Mahrattas, and for eleven years under the third Peshwa, a title which had become hereditary, the Mahrattas continued to extend their empire, and to carry it into the very centre of the Mogul possessions. But in 1761 the Battle of Panipat saw the overthrow of any cherished dream of Mahratta sovereignty supplanting that of the Mogul, and finally, in 1818, the Mahratta power was broken for ever in the time of the seventh and last Peshwa by the British forces. Under the direction of Mountstuart Elphinstone the country of the Mahrattas became a part of the Bombay Presidency, and the people were soon able to contrast the difference between the two systems of government. Thus ended an empire, which perished, as it was created, by the sword.

In many respects the rise of the Sikh power resembles that of the Mahratta, and the character of Rangit Singh has much in common with that of Sivaji. Both empires had a short-lived existence, and both arose in the conflict of race and religion, which was fanned into a blaze by the

intolerance of the Mogul rulers. In both instances the opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke was eagerly seized by a man of unbounded ambition, of iron will, desperate courage, and endless resource. And in both duplicity and treachery mark every step in the progress from obscurity to empire.

Rangit Singh, whose name has been interpreted to mean the "Lion of the Field of Battle," was so named by his father, Maha Singh, because he was born in the camp while Maha Singh was fighting his enemies. The capital of the small ancestral barony, or *misl*, was Sakkur, a village in the Manja, a tract of country lying between the Beas and Ravi Rivers, and this particular barony was, in point of importance, one of the smallest of the twelve confederacies into which the Sikhs had organized themselves. This organization was of an essentially democratical character, and each member of a confederacy believed himself to be the equal of every other member of the great fraternity, whether enrolled in his own or in any other confederacy. The whole body together constituted the fighting force of the nation, and was known as the "Army of God." Feuds and jealousies often drove the several confederacies into hostile camps, and each was envious of the possessions of the other. But let a common foe appear, like the Afghans, and their feuds and jealousies were forgotten, and they at once combined together and fought shoulder to shoulder as Sikhs, and not as Phulkians, Ahluwalias, Bhangis, or Ramgharias. A memorable instance of this is supplied by the story of the recapture of Sirhind by the Sikhs from the Governor of Ahmad Shah in 1761 A.D. Upon this occasion we find confederacies north and south of the Sutlej, who were bitterly antagonistic, uniting and raising a force of 23,000 fighting men to wipe out the disgrace of a former defeat, and thus to avenge the national honour.

It is important to bear this peculiar phase of the Sikh national character in mind, for it will serve to show how much more difficult it was for Rangit Singh, as the mere

leader of one of the smaller of these democratic confederacies, to win for himself the absolute sovereignty he so early acquired over them, and to exact that implicit obedience from them which he enjoyed to the day of his death, than if he had been a pure adventurer, one of those soldiers of fortune to whose standard mercenaries flocked for the sake of plunder, who owed his crown to their support, and who had no privileges to respect or liberties to safeguard. Rangit Singh was a Sikh ruling over Sikhs, a manly and stalwart race; he had to overcome the prejudices of a republican and warlike people, and bring it to acknowledge the yoke of an absolute monarchy, not by surrendering its manhood and its liberties, but as the consummation of a higher destiny. His object was to weld together the hostile confederacies into one strong, compact and powerful nation, of which he was to be the indisputable Sovereign, and he set about to accomplish this lofty ambition when he was yet a youth in his teens.

Born at Gujranwala on November 2, 1780 A.D., he lost his father when he was only eight years of age, and for some years he was left to the joint care of a mother whose character created scandal even in an age which is said to have been exceptionally immoral, and of a mother-in-law who was as ambitious as she was crafty and unscrupulous. Under such a training, the boy grew up, as might have been expected, debauched, drunken, deceitful, and cunning. With an exterior which owed little to Nature's adornments, and which was rendered still less attractive by the innumerable scars of a virulent attack of small-pox, which had greatly disfigured him, and had also deprived him of his left eye and distorted the right one, Rangit Singh's personal appearances, it must be confessed, were not in his favour. He was pronounced by Baron Hügel, who had visited him, to be "the most ugly and unprepossessing man he had seen throughout the Panjab." In physique also he had no counterbalancing advantages: he was short, had thin arms and legs, and a thick neck. But his head

was large—too large, it was thought by his critics, for his body—and his shoulders were broad. It is here that we have the only physical indications of the capacity of the man who was destined to reshape the history of the Panjab. The brain power which was working within that massive head was soon to electrify his countrymen, and the broad shoulders on which that head was sunk low marked the vigour and endurance which his enemies were soon to experience that no toil or privation could enfeeble or conquer. Intemperance and sensual indulgence did not succeed in untimely undermining his constitution, and he was a superb rider and a skilful swordsman.

While still only nineteen Rangit Singh had already possessed himself of Lahore, nominally as the Lieutenant of the Afghan Ruler. With the constant aid of his mother-in-law, Sud'a Kour, he rapidly succeeded in extending his conquests and in establishing his supremacy over the other Sikh confederacies. Within the short space of ten years he had so completely built up his empire from the right bank of the Sutlej on the east to Multan on the south, Peshawar on the west and Kashmir on the north, that the British Government, which had meanwhile taken the Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej under its protection, formally entered into a treaty-engagement with Rangit Singh as the Maharaja of Lahore. This treaty was concluded at Amritsar on April 25, 1809, and it is to the credit of Rangit Singh's good faith and good sense that, however treacherous in his dealings with his brother Sikh Princes and others, he was ever faithful to his engagement with the British. Rangit Singh was too well informed of the power and resources of the British Government to delude himself with any false notion as to his ability to cope with it in any open conflict. He wisely concluded, therefore, that his safety lay in leaving that Government in peace. So long as he kept faith with the British he had only his enemies in the Panjab proper to battle against, and against these he directed all his strength, vigilance, and craft.

His Sikh levies had the courage and the taste for war, but they were undisciplined and badly armed. He looked about for European help, and Italians, Frenchmen, and Irishmen, who had been trained in the wars of Napoleon, soon found their way to his Court, and were welcomed. With their aid the Sikh army was reconstituted, and became that formidable fighting force which afterwards made so gallant a defence against our own troops on the battle-fields of Firozshahr, Aliwal, and Sobraon. Rangit Singh had indeed a wonderful capacity for organization, and, like Akbar, he selected his officers solely on their merit, and without reference to religion. Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs were indifferently employed. One of his most trusted officers, and for whom, perhaps, he alone had any real friendship, was the learned Fakir Azizeddin, a physician of great repute who won the Maharaja's favour by his skill in curing him of a severe ophthalmic attack. The Fakir became his Foreign Minister and his most confidential adviser. A thorough Persian in culture and manners, Azizeddin was reputed to be a delightful companion, and acquired the position at the Lahore Court which Abul Fazl had enjoyed at the Court of Akbar. Like Abul Fazl, Azizeddin was devoid of any narrow bigotry, and his tolerant spirit may be judged by his famous answer to his royal master when asked whether he preferred the Hindu or the Muhammadan religion. "I am," replied the Fakir, "a man floating in the midst of a mighty river. I turn my eyes towards the land, but can distinguish no difference in either bank." Such a man, learned, liberal, and eloquent, a courtier and a statesman, was indispensable for a ruler who was himself totally ignorant, and who had to rely on another to give his ideas shape and form. For Azizeddin the crafty Rangit Singh felt a personal regard, which was unusual in his dealings with his other officials. Selfish to the core, the Maharaja treated his officers like men on a chess-board. He moved and utilized them to suit the exigencies of the occasion, and if he could gain any advantage by doing so,

he was ready to sacrifice them without the smallest compunction or hesitation. And yet it is remarkable that he was well served, perhaps more from fear than from any higher sense of duty, for Rangit Singh never overlooked a fault. The consequence was that his government brought order and security in the place of massacre and pillage, which naturally made it popular with the lower classes. But his avarice was such that no rich man could indulge in any display of his wealth. The Chief of Buttala learnt this to his cost for making a too lavish and ostentatious display on the occasion of his sister's marriage to Sirdar Sher Singh. He was soon afterwards informed by the Maharaja that a man who could spend so much on a sister's wedding should be able to make his Sovereign a handsome contribution, and a sum of 50,000 rupees had to be surrendered to avoid ulterior consequences. The poor Sháh Shújá, who had accepted an asylum at the hands of Rangit Singh when driven out of Cabul, also experienced the Maharaja's cupidity shortly after his arrival in Lahore. The unfortunate fugitive had one priceless treasure by means of which he might some day have resuscitated his fallen fortunes. This was the far-famed Koh-i-Nur, which from adorning, if legend speaks truly, the turbans of Pandu Princes and the thrones of Mogul Emperors, is at last among the most precious of the Crown Jewels of Her Most Gracious Majesty. Rangit Singh was determined to become the possessor of this magnificent stone, and when no other device could succeed in extracting it from the Afghan refugee, forged letters were produced implicating Sháh Shújá in planning an invasion of the Panjab. He was thereupon threatened with imprisonment, and was eventually compelled to give up the coveted treasure, which thus became the property of the Maharaja.

Enough has been said to show that Rangit Singh was not a character of whom any biographer could be justly proud. He was brave, capable, and active; a skilful administrator, an excellent judge of men, and tolerant or

indifferent in matters of religion. But he was a cold, unsympathetic, and hard master; cruel and selfish; false and treacherous; immoral himself and indifferent to the morals of others, a drunkard, a "giant liar," and a miser. His Court was grossly immoral. His wives presented him with children who were not of his blood, but whom he acknowledged with the indifference of a man to whom honour was of no account. One was notoriously the son of a chintz-weaver, and Dhulip Singh was generally reputed to be the son of a water-carrier named Gúli.

Even in his administration, if he checked rapacity in others, he freely indulged in it himself, and the one guiding principle of his system was to screw as much as he possibly could out of his subjects. No rights were respected which conflicted with the pecuniary interests of the State, and if his rule was just, it was said to be so in the sense that all were oppressed alike. At best a military despotism, Rangit Singh's government aimed not to promote the welfare of the people, but to accumulate wealth for the Maharaja's treasury. His local governors knew what he expected from them, and directed their measures accordingly. Diwan Sawan Mull, one of the best and ablest amongst them, was said to have been thoroughly corrupt, and to have resorted to practices which would have brought him to ruin in any civilized State. But a people who had never known better times, and who had often experienced far worse, were grateful for such benefits as they derived from the Diwan's administration; they recognised his ability, they felt the stability of his rule, they saw him convert jungle-lands into oases of cultivation, and they were thankful and revered his memory.

Rangit Singh's death in June, 1839, brought his reputed son Kharrak Singh to the throne. But if his features bore some resemblance to the great Maharaja, it was soon apparent that, like Richard Cromwell, he had inherited none of his father's qualities as a ruler. His first act showed his ineptitude, for he attempted to supersede his late father's Prime Minister (Raja Dhian Singh) by a

creature of his own. The result was what might have been expected. Raja Dhian Singh had been trained in a hard school, and was a man of action. He knew his master to be incompetent, and he refused to be cast aside. He entered the Darbar Hall, and in the presence of Kharrak Singh slew his miserable rival with his sword. The new Maharaja, unable to resent the violence of his powerful Diwan, shut himself up, and surrendered the government into the hands of his able son, Nao Nihal Singh. Kharrak Singh's feeble mind soon gave way, and he died a little more than a year after his father. Nao Nihal Singh was now the rightful heir to the throne, and had he lived to fulfil the promise of his youth, the history of the Panjab might not have been written as it is. But while passing under a gateway, on returning from the obsequies of his father, the youthful prince was killed by a falling stone, doubtless set rolling by a treacherous hand. The succession now passed to Sher Singh, one of the many sons who had been foisted on Rangit Singh, but a besotted drunkard and debauchee could not long maintain an empire such as the great Maharaja had founded. He, too, fell under the hand of an assassin, leaving the son of the water-carrier Gúlú, the young Dhulip Singh, to bring the history of the Sikh Empire to a close.

I have now rapidly traced the rise and fall of three great Indian empires, a Moslem, a Mahratta, and a Sikh. They mark, as you will have observed, different periods of culture, and exhibit different dominant races and creeds striving for mastery, and displaying their capacity for government. I have endeavoured to bring out their good and bad points, to describe their successes and to indicate their failures. But in estimating their merits or demerits, we must, of course, bear in mind the surrounding conditions under which they each struggled for mastery, and we must not apply to them a standard applicable to other phases of social or political development. The picture intended to be presented is that of a native government at

its best, and according to a triple standard, representing the three most important nationalities which have influenced the history of India within the last three centuries. If this picture has been successfully drawn, as I have certainly endeavoured to draw it faithfully, it is one which offers abundant material for reflection and study. The Moslem, for instance, who points with pride to the Mogul Empire, will have to admit in candour that its glory is due to the elevation of principles which no extremely rigid or bigoted follower of the Arabian Prophet (to wit, Abdul Kadir Badauni) could fully reconcile to his conscience, and that this glory vanishes when, as in the reign of Alamgir, those principles are sacrificed to intolerant orthodoxy. The Mahratta or Sikh, who loves to recall the brave deeds of his national hero, of a Sivaji or a Rangit Singh, has to draw a veil over the crowded pages of his history which recount the murders, the treacheries, the deceits, and trickeries which would blacken any reputation. But where—I would venture to ask, and after making all due allowance for patriotic sentiment—is the Moslem, Mahratta, or Sikh, who, comparing the government under which he now lives with that of even an Akbar, or of a Sivaji, or of a Rangit Singh, could conscientiously say that the latter was as pure, as unselfish, as free, as beneficent, and as powerful, as the former? The question might be repeated from one end of India to the other, but the truthful answer re-echoing through the hills and valleys and plains would still bear witness to the incomparable superiority of the British administration.

On the other hand, let us never forget that *it is only by means of the past that we can rise to the conquest of the future*. Thus, the British Government itself has had much to learn from the histories to which I have referred. It has profited by experience, and it has seen the strong as well as the weak points of each of the preceding systems; where the one succeeded and where another failed; where a paramount power determined to rule with absolute impartiality

could safely imitate, and where it was bound to reject or to innovate; where rocks and shoals were to be avoided, and where the path which led to progress and political and social development might safely be followed. Thanks to a succession of able governors, and, above all, to the zeal, single-hearted devotion, tact, and ability of our local officers, recruited for the most part from a service which is the pride as it is the mainstay of our Indian administration, we have succeeded as the outcome of a century of patient effort in framing a system of government which can safely challenge comparison with that adopted by any other foreign Government under similar conditions, and which has won the admiration of even our most unsympathetic critics.

The system of British administration in India is, in fact, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon capacity for government. It is based on justice, complete toleration and purity; it teaches respect and consideration for others; it fosters progress and enlightenment; it recognises no distinctions of creed, caste, or birth; and it treats all who are content to live loyally under one flag as fellow subjects of one Sovereign, whose sceptre is the emblem of freedom and civilization. Under the ægis of that sceptre, the diverse races of India, who once robbed, murdered, and pillaged each other, now live in peace, and all who love peace and desire prosperity and contentment for the people must pray that this sceptre may long continue to reign over a continent to which it has brought so many blessings.

THE PROPOSED LAW REGARDING THE ALIENATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PANJÂB.

BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E.,

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THAT society, in all parts of India, has an essentially agricultural basis is a fact sufficiently well known and recognised. Five-sixths of the population gain their livelihood by cultivation; and more than that number derive at least part of their income from the land. It is owing to this circumstance that the revenue derived from land has always been the sheet-anchor of State finance, and that the principle of taking a share of the produce of all cultivated land for the Treasury, is so ancient in origin and has been so persistently maintained. The methods of this revenue-collection have, in the course of centuries, necessarily varied. The "share" was at first a fixed proportion of the crop; at any rate, it was limited by a custom which was rarely or never infringed. But as time went on the State share became liable to increase at the will of the ruler (usually a conqueror): it was afterwards also converted into a money equivalent, and this soon obscured the original relation of the rate levied to the customary "share."

When British government, with its ideas of consistency, and respect for law and for secure and defined rights, was established in the various provinces, an important change came over the mode in which the "land-revenue" was assessed; and the position of the land-holders was affected accordingly. Perhaps I should rather say that new views of the land-holders' position were adopted, and that the mode of assessing the land-revenue varied accordingly; but the two things are in fact inseparable. However it may be expressed, a far-reaching change was necessitated

by a new view of the relation of the State to the people and to the land.

It is a question of purely academic interest whether, by old Hindu law or *ancient* custom of the country, the King, Emperor, or State was regarded (in any practical sense) as the owner of all land. As a matter of fact, when once the rule was assumed and acted on that the Sovereign could fix (and increase at pleasure) the proportion of produce, or the substituted money-rate, which he took, and when the amount actually levied became so considerable that it equalled (or nearly approached to) the full rental value of the land held, it followed that the cultivators or direct possessors of land became, *ipso facto*, the mere tenants or "raiyats" of the State. And all the later Governments (Moslem, Sikh, and Mahrātha) which directly preceded our own, claimed to be, or acted as, the virtual owners of all land.

Without going into any detail as to the history of British land-policy in India, it may be shortly stated that the British Government, having necessarily succeeded to all the rights enjoyed by the preceding Government, found itself confronted with the *de facto* rule that the State was the owner of all cultivated land.* And the administrators of our first acquired province, Bengal, were led to regard this as objectionable in principle. Lord Cornwallis went so far as to describe it as "ruinous." Accordingly, in Bengal, and afterwards in all Hindustan or Upper India, the assessment of the revenue was (in one way or another) so regulated—by the proceeding known as a Revenue Settlement—that the State no longer took the whole rental, but left a valuable margin which, in fact, enabled a private proprietary right to exist. At the same time that right was recognised as residing in those persons with whom the settlement was made. In short, private property in land was either formally or inferentially recognised both in

* This limitation is adopted because the State still retains its right to *waste* and *unoccupied* land not included in any private holding or estate. It is on the basis of this unquestionable right that our "Rules for the Lease of Waste Lands," as well as our Forest Laws, are established.

Bengal and Northern India. In Bengal (as afterwards in Oudh) it is well known that circumstances had left certain native chiefs, large revenue farmers, or land officers of the Mughal régime, in such a position as to induce their recognition as *landlords* over (often considerable) "estates," embracing a number of "villages"—by which term we indicate the primary groups of land-holdings in which cultivation was very generally, in the first instance, established.

In the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb, when the settlements came to be made (many years after the Permanent Settlement of Bengal), circumstances were different: there the "villages" were mostly found to be in possession of joint bodies, sometimes consisting of the descendants (widely extended families) of an original founder, grantee, or a later revenue-contractor; sometimes consisting of the members of a clan, or of some expanding family group, or even of voluntary associates. But in all cases such groups were endowed with a power of cohesion; they were willing to be regarded as jointly responsible and as (in whatever exact sense) collective owners of the village area. Here, too, without issuing any formal title-deeds or legislative declaration of ownership, the village bodies were recorded proprietors, and entitled to share among themselves (according to their own constitution and custom) the valuable property which had a real existence now that the revenue demand was properly limited and fixed for a long term of years.

But in the extensive territories included in the "Presidencies" of Madras and Bombay, speaking generally, the villages were of quite a different constitution from those in the North, and under the circumstances the Government found it advisable to retain the title of supreme owner of the soil; it accordingly recognised the actual possessors or "rai-yats" as persons entitled to a permanent, hereditary, and alienable right of occupancy* of "Government lands."

* One reason for this was the desire to leave the "occupant" free to *relinquish* his holding (on due notice given) if he did not feel able to

But the "occupants" were so assessed that they had all the practical benefits of peasant ownership.

Thus, in all the chief provinces, the Government in effect, and sometimes in form, divested itself of the ownership of land. But whether a legal ownership or a permanent occupancy right was conferred on private persons, in either case it was (at the time) considered necessary (whatever other limitations might restrict the title) to leave the owner or holder free to alienate, permanently or for a term, his land or interest in land. Free, that is to say, except so far as any existing native custom, family law, etc., did not already restrain his acts. I may beg attention to this exception; something more will have to be said of it presently.

It is worth while to notice that all the time this policy of recognising private ownership (or something practically equivalent thereto) was being worked out and applied, it never occurred to any of the authorities as within the sphere of practical policy to ask, whether the old *de facto* ownership of the State should not rather be diverted to a useful purpose than (practically) abandoned altogether? Might it not be retained legally and in form, for certain beneficial ends, while the working profits and real benefits of a (fairly assessed) holding were left to the several classes—superior landlord, joint village body, or individual raiyat—concerned?

If the settlement of a land policy had to be considered all over again in our own days, it would probably occur to many to consider carefully, and to some to advocate warmly, a rule that the older State right should be retained as a *nuda proprietas* or formal ownership; the important, if only, effect of which would be that while private persons derived all the benefits of possession and enjoyment, they could not alienate the land itself. And it might further have been made conditional in the case of a

discharge the revenue obligation. In these countries, exceptionally, there are landlords and holders of "inām," or revenue-free lands, who are owners.

(raiyaṭwāri or) occupancy tenure, that the right of occupancy itself should not be sold, or mortgaged beyond a term of years. Nothing of the kind, however, was contemplated during the long years in which the land-settlements of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Madras, or Bombay, were being elaborated. Not only then was there once an unquestionable opportunity for restricting the alienation of land—and at that time people were quite accustomed to the idea*—but the opportunity was deliberately, and of set policy, let go.

It is well, however, to note that some restrictions on alienation have in special cases long been in force. I need not take account of the early prohibition in Bengal against leases for more than ten years, for that was purely in the interest of the revenue, and was soon withdrawn. But from the first, the permanently settled Zamindāris (1801-2) of Madras were granted on the express condition of non-alienation, and of the succession going on by primogeniture. This, of course, was in the interest of the great estates, and to prevent their being broken up into a number of peasant holdings. In Oudh also, some sixty-five years later, the landlords were encouraged to accept primogeniture; and alienation, though not prohibited, was fenced round with various precautions (Act I. of 1869). Alienation is also restricted by law, in the case of the North Bombay Talukdārs, or landlords.

Nothing, however, has been hitherto attempted as regards the great and interesting class of (proprietary) village communities in the North-West Provinces, parts of Oudh, and the Panjāb, or as regards the (non-proprietary) village aggregates of severalty holders throughout Madras and

* Under later native government, sale of peasant holdings was generally restricted, chiefly, however, because the conditions of assessment did not leave any saleable value to a holding. In other cases restriction was imposed in order that the Rājā or Governor might levy a round fee for permission to sell. But in general, I think, the upper classes, holding on any privileged or superior tenure, were alone able to sell, and did so, but not very commonly.

Bombay. The consequence is obvious: the land-holder soon found out that he could borrow as much as he pleased to the extent of his (new-found) credit. He was not slow to exercise his privilege, and that, naturally, on the security (direct or indirect) of his land, or his occupancy right, as the case might be. Now, although it is true that the villager's almost sole taxation burden, the land-revenue, is regulated strictly by the average yield or average paying power, taking good and bad years together, still, the cultivator does not (as once remarked by Sir A. Colvin) live by "averages." He spends in a good year, and lays up nothing. In a bad year (and, indeed, very commonly in other years) he has to take an advance of cash from the money-lender to meet the inexorable demand for his revenue instalment, to say nothing of his occasional abnormal expenditure on weddings and other family ceremonies, when feasting and giving presents is the equally inexorable demand of social custom.

As time went on, notwithstanding the general moderation of assessments,* village holdings, at least in certain localities, became heavily encumbered. This occurred equally under all systems—the "raiyatwāri" of Bombay or the "village system" of North-Western India. Acts have been passed for the relief of ryots in the Dakhan and elsewhere; they have rarely had any pronounced or complete success.† Agricultural savings banks, had they been earlier invented and really widely encouraged, might possibly have played a great part in the progress of peasant society; that I must not attempt to discuss. But, as a matter of fact, indebtedness has locally increased, and with it, as a natural consequence, the deprivation of owners or occupants of peasant holdings. In other words, the loss of their independent livelihood by the agricultural classes,

* This general description is quite justifiable, in spite of local cases of drawback or of mistakenly high assessment.

† See my "Origin, etc., of Village Communities in India," p. 146, *et seq.* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1899)—a little book designed to give a short and more popular account of villages and their economy.

and the transfer of their holdings to money-lenders, traders, speculators, and other non-agriculturists, who are rarely or never good landlords, and are often non-resident, has become so prominent an evil—at least locally—that some remedy is loudly called for.

Those unacquainted with Indian society, and its divisions of race and caste, will hardly form an adequate idea of the strong attachment of the "peasant classes in North India (I speak of these more especially, as I have so long lived among them) to their ancestral acres—acres derived from a well-remembered (and perhaps once noble) ancestor, or representing an allotment of clan-territory. They will also hardly realize how, in certain provinces or districts, the feeling on all subjects is rather tribal than national, and how the rule of marriage *in* the "tribe," but *out* of the "clan," tends to keep up this condition. Moreover, we must remember the influence of the joint-family, with its consequent joint succession of heirs male, which is a universal feature of agricultural society, although it differs in detail from the joint-family of the Hindu law-books. More easily readers in England will realize the hostile feeling, and the bitter, if smouldering and repressed, resentment, with which the money-lender, or the agent of the town investor, as mortgagee or purchaser of shares or holdings, is often regarded in a village. The mere fact that he may be a Hindu of a trading caste intruded into a Muhammadan community, or that (in any case) he is of alien caste to the agriculturist body, is enough to introduce an element of discord into the community life of a village, where that community has at all preserved its solidarity. And there is often a deep-seated grudge and hatred of a more personal kind, because the creditor has made his claim so much larger than the debtor (without accounts or proofs) thinks it should be. The agriculturist broods over the loss which he never fails to attribute to the way in which his repayments have been ignored, or (if in kind) undervalued, and the interest run up. And this feeling is

too often not without some justification, or at least excuse. In the course of my judicial work I have tried more than one harrowing case of murder of a money-lender by a "disinherited" debtor in the village; and I have known serious riots originating in attempts to wreck a money-lender's premises, and burn his books or bonds; the excuse being that he was unjust or fraudulent, and had exasperated the people. Even if these were extreme cases—to be looked on sternly rather than compassionately, the mere fact that communities, whose habits have been fixed by generations of agricultural descent and unchanging tradition, may be broken up; and that proprietors of a dozen generations may be reduced, piecemeal, to working as landless labourers on a pittance barely equal to supporting the family, or perhaps be driven from their home and compelled to leave the district altogether, is a serious evil. In this way the ranks of habitual criminals are only too likely to be recruited, while parties and factions in the different sections of the village become pronounced, and smouldering discontent is ready to break forth into violence at any moment. We may talk as we please about the safe rules of political economy, and about the necessity for letting natural economic laws operate and run their own course, but the ruin of any considerable section of our agricultural races, whether in North India, or any other provinces, would mean a political and an economic loss and danger, the full extent of which it would be difficult to foresee, but the reality of which it is impossible to overlook.

But when the desirableness of a remedy by legislation is considered, it becomes a difficult question to determine what shall be the area to which a law restricting the sale of lands should apply. When the subject of such a law *in posse* was first heard of in England, I think an impression got about that the intention was to make a general law applicable to all British India. A general law would almost certainly be a failure; to say nothing of the far

wider scope for misconstruction, and the more extended opportunity for agitation by interested opponents, that it would afford. The provinces are so different that, while subjects like the Criminal and Civil Procedure, Police, Excise, and Stamp Law, can be uniformly provided for, it would never do to treat questions of tenure and land-custom on equally broad lines. For one thing, there would be much variety of view on the part of the different local authorities; and a general Act would consequently be hedged about with so many drawbacks, exceptions, and qualifications, that it would rarely be intelligible, and would fail to effect any beneficial result, except perhaps to the pockets of the pleader or revenue-agent. As, however, we now know that a single province is at present to be legislated for, there is no need to pursue the subject.

But while the objections to a "general" Act may be dismissed, there is a danger in the opposite direction. It is possible that a too restricted scope for the experiment may still find advocates. The long and careful inquiry which has preceded the introduction of the new Land Bill has naturally shown that, even in one province, the evil has affected some parts more than others. The evils attendant on alienation are only locally acute—under a variety of conditions, physical, climatic, and racial. Fortunately, this fact can be allowed for without incurring the evil of a too restricted application of the law in the first instance.

To apply the law only to certain limited areas would surely encourage the money-lenders to leave the "closed" districts, and transfer their business to the nearest district where there was no restriction. And if that were done the agriculturist would suffer. It is not the object to deny the land-owner all power of borrowing, or to drive the money-lender away: for the normal functions of the latter are often essential to the working of a perfectly solvent village community. As the *Pioneer** well puts it, "The scheme contemplates nothing more than a moderate contraction of

* *Pioneer (Mail)*, October 13, 1899.

credit, and makes adequate provision for the satisfaction of debts within this narrower margin of credit. Applied to a whole province, it may reasonably be expected to have this effect, as it is beyond the power of the money-lenders to boycott a nation." But they might easily "boycott" certain limited localities set apart by law as if they were plague-spots.

In applying the law to the Panjāb only, but to the whole of that province, the Government are certainly well advised; and all the advantages of any further localization that may be needed—without the disadvantages—can be secured in another way. It will be in the power of Government to *exempt* any person or class of persons, any district or part of a district, from the operation of the whole Act, or any of its provisions.

Under these conditions no province could have been more suitable for selection than the Panjāb. It may be of some interest to explain why this is so. In the first place, it is no disparagement to other countries in India to say that the Panjāb contains many of the hardest and best elements of the whole agricultural population. Here (as I have already had occasion to note) the villages are in the "joint" form, and consist of aggregates of tribal, or of family, holdings, and the *personnel* is bound together by ties of blood or of custom, and acknowledges a certain solidarity. Moreover, in most cases the tribal stage of society has hardly passed away. In some parts we have perfect tribes with their clans, septs, or other subdivisions all complete; and village social life, as well as the customs of land-allotment, or distribution of shares, are based on a tribal constitution. Even when the whole organization of a tribe does not survive, the original tribal condition of races like the Jat, Gujar, Āwān, Ghakar, and Rājput, is not doubtful. We find marked distinctions of *tribal*, rather than *local*, custom everywhere acknowledged. In no part of our dominions would it be more disastrous to have the agricultural village system broken up, and "shares" bought up by alien classes of money-lenders and speculators.

And there is another reason. There is a peculiar appropriateness in applying the first (and necessarily tentative) law to the Panjâb, because here more perhaps than in any part of India the idea of a limited power of alienation is, in principle, familiar, and the object of the law is most likely to be properly appreciated. The conditions of village life and of family or tribal association have accustomed the land-owners to regard their holdings as, in some measure, what I may call (at least in a non-legal sense) a "trust,"—as something which they may enjoy and profit by during life, but which they should hand on unimpaired to their descendants. They are quite familiar with the idea that ancestral land is inalienable except in the case of real necessity; they are equally familiar with customary restrictions which are designed to prevent family lands passing beyond the circle of the male agnates. They also observe rules of pre-emption which—whether generally efficacious or not—have always aimed at excluding strangers; so that if land is sold it should go to a relative, or, at least, to a co-sharer of the same section, or, failing that, to one of the same community. These circumstances certainly afford a *prima-facie* prospect of success; and it is not from the population of the Panjâb that any real or intelligent opposition will come. Opposition (from interested sources) can of course be manufactured (to order) throughout India, on any subject whatever.

I said that this proposal was no new thing. For many years past local officers have reported on it, and have sometimes drawn sad pictures of the local condition of things, while giving expression to grave warnings of evil to come. No surprise, then, can be felt at the introduction of the present measure in the Legislative Council of India. The Bill itself is the result of cautious and minute consideration of the subject, and is in form and substance just what is wanted. It is short, simple, and perfectly clear. The text has been published (and will for some time continue to appear) in the *Gazette of India*, and is

prefaced by a brief and practical "Statement of Objects and Reasons" by the Hon. C. M. Rivaz, who is in charge of the measure, and is eminently qualified by long and approved experience to deal with the details. No sentiment is wasted on the occasion, no apologetic hesitations find expression. "The expropriation of the hereditary agriculturist in many parts of the Panjâb," writes the Honourable Member, "through the machinery of unrestricted sale and mortgage, has been regarded for years past as a serious political danger. It is recognised that the danger is accompanied with bad economic results, that it is increasing, and that if not arrested it will grow to formidable dimensions." Such is the fact plainly stated, and it is one which cannot be controverted.

As to the provisions of the proposed law itself, they will be found to be marked by the same straightforward good sense that the introductory statement gives evidence of. A complicated, half-hearted measure, abounding in drawbacks and exceptions, and hedged with timid provisos, would be certain to fail. The experiment, if tried at all, is one to be tried fairly and squarely.

The term "land" for the purposes of this law is of course defined: it does not include (to put it untechnically) house sites in town or village; it means land used for agriculture or pasture, or for purposes subservient thereto.

The persons to be protected are agriculturists (the term being defined), who are either owners or hereditary tenants.*

The authority who will exercise control in cases of alienation, in the first instance, is an officer of the revenue administration, of such rank as the Act provides. In certain cases it may be any officer whom the Local Government appoints; in other cases of greater importance, it will be an officer not below the rank of a Deputy Commissioner (which means the Collector or chief officer

* The "hereditary tenant," as distinguished from the contract tenant, or tenant at will, has a defined position under the Tenancy Law of 1887.

of a district) or some experienced person who is vested with the powers of such an officer.

Alienation is of course either permanent or temporary; and we may regard the leasing of land (which might be arranged at a nominal rent) as a form of temporary alienation which also needs regulation.

Every *permanent* alienation will require an official sanction; but in the first place, if the person alienating is himself a non-agriculturist, or if the sale is to an agriculturist (owner or hereditary tenant) in the village, or to one belonging to the same (agricultural) tribe* in the district, then the alienation will be sanctioned as of right, without objection. Otherwise an inquiry will be made into the circumstances, and the officer will be able (subject to appeal) to grant or refuse the application.

But even if an alienation is made (privately and) without sanction, it is not—Section 10(2)—entirely void; it is proposed that it shall be recognised only as a *usufructuary mortgage* for a certain term (prescribed). There may be good reason for this, but I confess I do not see why, in view of the facility there will be (and the absence of all expense and serious trouble) in getting sanction, the unauthorized permanent alienation should not simply be void. If there be any *bonâ-fide* mistake, the transaction could of course be renewed (and would be under the circumstances), and then sanction could be asked.

Generally, land is not sold straight off; the creditor first allows an "account" to run up in his "books." When the balance mounts up, and circumstances are suitable (the money-lender is as acute in noting the state of his creditor as a barometer is to mark changes in the air), he demands that the "balance" (with future interest) should be acknowledged by a (simple) bond on stamped paper. Then in the proper time a mortgage of land is suggested,

* A register may be prepared and kept up in each district, showing what bodies of persons are "agricultural tribes" for the purposes of the Act (Section 4).

and a sale is only in the last resort (unless we have a case of "land-grabbing," or a real desire to buy up fields as an investment.)

As regards the process of mortgage, four forms of this transaction have been customary. Two are now properly disallowed; the others are maintained within due limits. (1) There is the simple or "English" mortgage, in which possession is not transferred, but the property becomes liable to sale on the expiry of the date fixed, if the conditions have not been fulfilled. This form of mortgage is allowed, but subject to proviso that, in the event of non-payment, the land shall not be sold, but given in possession under usufructuary mortgage for such term, not exceeding fifteen years, as the revenue officer shall determine to be equitable; and this mortgage is to subsist for such sum as is then determined (the Bill gives details as to reckoning principal and reasonable interest). (2) The hitherto common form whereby the mortgagee is put in possession, and is to take the produce or rent in lieu of *interest only (without account)*, will, most properly, become illegal altogether. So also will (3) the "conditional sale," even if it was made before the date of the Act. (This is known as *bai'-bil-wafâ*.) But such a transaction can on application be converted into an usufructuary mortgage for a term of years, as the equity of the case may suggest. The other mortgage (4) that is permitted (and will doubtless become the standard form) is that known to custom as "*lekha-mukhi*," where the mortgagee in possession is bound to *account for his receipts* periodically, and to set them against both interest (of fixed amount) and principal, so that in time the account closes and the land is free. This may be for a term of years not exceeding fifteen, after which the land is returned free of debt. It is wisely also provided (Section 8) that when *one* mortgage has been made (or a lease), the owner is not at liberty to make any further temporary alienation of his land during the currency of such mortgage or lease." It is perhaps not quite clear whether this

refers to a second mortgage of the *same* land, or any other mortgage of his (possible) remaining land not yet encumbered. It will be observed, also, that no hypothecation of produce unreaped, or reaped and still at the threshing-floor, is allowed. In the case of a "lease," it may endure for the life of the lessor (up to for fifteen years, but not more). Such a lease requires no sanction. To these provisions is added the general one that land cannot be sold in execution of any decree of Court past or future; and that no instrument which contravenes the rules of the Act can be admitted to registration.

The Act closes with the usual provisions regarding the course of appeal, and for power to the Local Government to make subsidiary rules for giving effect to the Act, and regulating the procedure and powers of officers in the matter of applications for sanction.

It is not intended to pass this Act till next summer session, by which time everybody will have had ample opportunity to study the simple provisions of the law and to submit their criticism.

TEXT OF THE LAND BILL.

*Introduced in the Council of the Governor-General of India,
September 27, 1899.*

A BILL TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PANJÂB.*

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to agricultural land in the Panjâb, it is hereby enacted as follows :

PRELIMINARY.

- I.—(1) This Act may be called the Panjâb Alienation of Land Act, 1900.
(2) It extends to all the territories for the time being administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb; and
3. It shall come into force on . . .

II.—In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(1) The expression "agriculturist" means a person who, either in his own name or in the name of his agnate ancestor, was recorded as the owner of land or as a hereditary tenant in any estate at the first regular settlement :

* The *Gazette of India*, September 30, 1899.

Provided that the Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, extend this definition so as to include any persons or classes of persons in any part of the territories to which this Act applies.

(2) The expression "district" means a district as defined for the purposes of the Panjāb Land Revenue Act, 1887 :

Provided that the Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, extend or restrict this definition in any particular case.

(3) The expression "land" means land which is not occupied, as the site of any building in a town or village, and is occupied or let for agricultural purposes or for purposes subservient to agriculture or for pasture, and includes the sites of buildings and other structures on such land ; and

(4) The expression "Deputy Commissioner" includes any person authorized by the Local Government to exercise the powers of a Deputy Commissioner.

PERMANENT ALIENATION OF LAND.

III.—(1) A person who desires to make a permanent alienation of his land shall be at liberty to make such alienation on obtaining the sanction of a Revenue officer.

(2) Such sanction shall be given in all cases where—

(a) The alienor is not a member of an agricultural tribe ;

(b) The alienor is a member of an agricultural tribe, and the alienee is an agriculturist holding land as owner or as occupancy-tenant in the village where the land alienated is situated ;

(c) The alienor is a member of an agricultural tribe, and the alienee is a member of the same tribe residing in the district where the land alienated is situated.

(3) Except in the cases provided for by sub-section (2), the Revenue officer shall inquire into the circumstances of the proposed alienation, and shall have discretion to grant or refuse the sanction applied for.

(4) In the cases provided for by sub-section (2), the application for sanction shall be made to such Revenue officer as the Local Government may determine. In all other cases the application shall be made to such Revenue officer, not lower in rank than Deputy Commissioner, as the Local Government may determine.

IV.—The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, determine for each district what bodies of persons therein are to be deemed to be agricultural tribes for the purposes of this Act.

V.—Where a Revenue officer sanctions a permanent alienation of land, no right of pre-emption subsisting in respect of such land shall be taken away or otherwise affected by such sanction.

TEMPORARY ALIENATIONS OF LAND.

VI.—(1) A person may make a temporary alienation of his land by way of mortgage in either of the following forms :

(a) In the form of a usufructuary mortgage, by which the mort-

gagor delivers possession of the land to the mortgagee, and authorizes him to retain such possession and to receive the rents and profits of the land in lieu of interest, and towards payment of the principal on condition that after the expiry of the period agreed on, or (if no period is agreed on, or if the period agreed on exceeds fifteen years) after the expiry of fifteen years, the land shall be redelivered to the mortgagor, and the mortgage debt shall be extinguished :

Any condition attached to any such usufructuary mortgage by which any legal or customary obligation of the landlord in respect of the land mortgaged is imposed on the mortgagor during the currency of the mortgage, or by which the right of the mortgagor to redeem the property at any time during the currency of the mortgage is barred or restricted, shall be null and void.

(b) In the form of a mortgage without possession, subject to the condition that, if the mortgagor fails to pay according to his contract, the mortgagee shall have the right to claim a usufructuary mortgage in form (a), but shall not have any other remedy against the land mortgaged : such usufructuary mortgage to take effect from the date on which the mortgagee is placed in possession of the land, and to remain in effect for such term not exceeding fifteen years as the Revenue officer, on the application of the mortgagor, may deem to be equitable, and to be for such sum as may be due to the mortgagee on account of the balance of principal due and of interest due (not exceeding the amount claimable as simple interest for three years on the original debt).

(2) If any person has, before the commencement of this Act, made a mortgage of his land by way of conditional sale, or shall, after the commencement of this Act, make any mortgage of his land not permitted by the Act, such mortgage shall be null and void :

Provided that the Revenue officer, on the application of the mortgagor or the mortgagee, may order the mortgagor to execute a usufructuary mortgage as permitted by sub-section (1) for the term of fifteen years, or for such less term as the Revenue officer considers equitable.

(3) Applications under this section shall be made to such Revenue officer, not lower in rank than a Deputy Commissioner, as the Local Government may determine.

VII.—Any person may make a lease of his land for a term of fifteen years if the lessor shall so long live, and any such lease made by any person for a longer term shall be deemed to be a lease for the term permitted by this section.

VIII.—A person who has made a mortgage or a lease of his land in any form permitted by this Act shall not be at liberty to make any further temporary alienation of his land during the currency of such mortgage or lease.

IX.—(1) If a mortgagee or lessee remains in possession after the expiry of the term for which he is entitled to hold under his mortgage or lease,

the Revenue officer may, of his own motion or on the application of the person entitled to possession, eject such mortgagee or lessee, and place the person so entitled in possession.

(2) The power conferred by this section shall be exercised by a Revenue officer not lower in rank than Deputy Commissioner.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

X.—(1) No person shall be at liberty to make any permanent alienation of his land unless in manner permitted by this Act.

(2) Any such permanent alienation made without the sanction required by this Act shall take effect as a usufructuary mortgage on the conditions prescribed by Section VI, sub-section (1), clause (a).

XI.—Every instrument or agreement whereby an agriculturist purports to hypothecate the produce of his land or any part of, or share in, such produce shall be void.

Explanation.—The produce of land means :

(a) Crops and other products of the earth standing or ungathered on the holding ;

(b) Crops and other products of the earth which have been grown on the land, and have been reaped or gathered and are deposited on the land, or on a threshing-ground, or within the village in which the land is situate or the agriculturist resides.

XII.—No land shall be sold in execution of any decree or order, whether passed before or after the commencement of this Act.

XIII.—No instrument which contravenes the provisions of this Act shall be admitted to registration.

XIV.—(1) An appeal shall lie from the order of a Revenue officer granting or refusing sanction to a permanent alienation of land or dealing with an application under section VI.

(2) If the order is that of a Tahsildar or other Revenue officer lower in rank than a Deputy Commissioner, the appeal shall lie to the Deputy Commissioner ; if it is the order of a Deputy Commissioner, to the Commissioner ; if it is the order of a Commissioner, to the Financial Commissioner.

(3) Except as provided by this section, no proceedings shall be taken to question the validity of any order made by a Revenue officer under this Act.

XV.—The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, exempt any district or part of a district or any person or class of persons from the operation of this Act or of any of the provisions thereof.

XVI.—(1) The Local Government may make rules for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act ;

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision, the Local Government may make rules prescribing the Revenue officers to whom applications may be made, and the manner and form in which such applications shall be made and disposed of.

BANKING IN INDIA.

BY HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE complete reorganization of the monetary system of India now in process of being effected by the Indian Government is the most important economical event in the history of that country.

The monetary system of any country comprises (1) the system of coinage, and (2) the system of banking and paper currency.

The Indian Government has already passed an Act to restore its ancient gold currency to India which it enjoyed for thousands of years, until on January 1, 1853, when by a single stroke of his pen Lord Dalhousie demonetized the whole of the gold currency of India, which was estimated to amount to £120,000,000, and for the first time silver became the sole legal tender throughout India.

But in 1864 the whole of India revolted against the silver standard, and earnestly requested that its gold currency should be restored to it, and that the sovereign should be made the standard unit. The Government has now at last taken measures to carry into effect the unanimous demand of the people of India in 1864, and therefore I need not further refer to it. It will, however, necessarily take some little time to complete this great operation, but when the gold currency has been established on a secure and permanent basis, the next thing to be done is completely to reorganize the system of banking and paper currency, which is in the most crude, barbarous condition, and utterly inadequate for the growing wants of the country.

The Indian Government has declared its intention of instituting a thorough and exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of banking and paper currency, and it is to be hoped that they will be very careful as to the selection of the persons to whom the inquiry is entrusted. So long as a country is in a stagnant state, and its industry is mainly

agricultural, a purely metallic currency may suffice for it. But the invincible objection to a purely metallic currency is that it is entirely inelastic. It may be compared to water used as a motive power; but when, on an established metallic currency, a well organized superstructure of credit is raised, it is like converting water into steam. "If you were ignorant of this," says Demosthenes, "that credit is the greatest capital of all towards the acquisition of wealth, you would be utterly ignorant," and this when credit was in its rudest and most undeveloped state, when it was no more to be compared with its organization at the present day, than the early form of the steam engine in Newcomen's day was to be compared with its development at the present day.

The great American statesman and jurist, Daniel Webster, said: "Credit has done more, a thousand times, to enrich nations than all the mines of all the world." And at the present time the power and progress in wealth of any country chiefly depends on the organization of its system of credit.

No more striking example of this can be given than that of Scotland, which is universally acknowledged to possess the best organized system of credit in the world. Upon a metallic basis of £5,000,000 is raised up a structure of banking credit amounting to about £100,000,000, and these banking credits produce exactly the same effects in every respect as an equal quantity of gold. It is no exaggeration, but a melancholy truth, that at the period of the Revolution in 1688, and the foundation of the Bank of Scotland in 1695, partly owing to such a series of disasters as cannot be paralleled in the history of any other independent nation, partly owing to its position on the very outskirts of civilization, and far removed from the humanizing influence of commerce, divided into two nations, aliens in blood and language, Scotland was the most utterly lawless and barbarous country in Europe. And it is equally undeniable that the two great causes of her progress in civilization and

wealth have been her systems of national education and banking.

Other countries when they wish to execute great works seek to borrow British capital. But the prodigious progress of agriculture and all the great public works in Scotland—roads, harbours, canals, railways, and others—have been executed by means of her own banking credit. Scotland never had to go beyond her own borders to borrow an ounce of foreign capital. What the Nile is to Egypt her banking system has been to Scotland; and it is fortunate for her that the foundations of her prosperity were laid broad and deep before the gigantic fallacy was dreamt of that the issues of banks should be inexorably restricted to the amount of gold they displace; that no increase of money can be of any use to a country; and before Mill had proclaimed to the world that to create credit in excess of specie is robbery!

Whenever the spirit of enterprise awakes in a country, either in commerce or industry, it is indispensable to create great banks with the power to issue notes to supplement metallic money. What is it that has permitted the prodigious development of industry and commerce in Germany in recent years? It is simply the creation of her stupendous banks.

India is now assuming a great position as an industrial and commercial country, and it is absolutely necessary to reorganize her whole system of banking and paper currency, which is, as I have said, in the most crude and barbarous condition, on the best European models. In the proposed reorganization of the banking system of India two plans have been suggested.

1. To institute a great State Bank with a capital about equal, and a constitution similar, to that of the Bank of England, which should absorb the Presidency banks, and establish a great dominant bank similar to the Bank of France.

2. To reorganize the Presidency Banks, enlarging their

powers, and to leave the development of banking free to private enterprise.

To the establishment of a great State Bank in India similar to the constitution of the Bank of England I am invincibly opposed. It is sufficient to say that the present constitution of the Bank of England is founded on a mass of dogmas which are utterly erroneous, and which in a series of commercial crises which have taken place since 1844 would infallibly have brought about the stoppage of every bank in the kingdom if the Act had not been suspended. It is absolutely certain that if a great commercial crisis took place in India with a State Bank founded on the model of the Bank of England, it would cause the stoppage of every bank in India, and make the Government itself bankrupt.

No doubt the Bank of England exists as a great fact, but its monopoly is utterly contrary to the fundamental principles of Free Trade. No other English-speaking race tolerates the existence of a dominant bank. Scotland from the very first energetically protested against a monopoly in banking. Her system of banking was freely developed by practical men of business, and was never interfered with by legislation till 1845, and it is universally acknowledged that her banking system is the best in the world, and the system of credit is more fully and perfectly developed there than in any other country.

The United States had a dominant bank, which by the testimony of the ablest American economists inflicted incalculable evils on the country, and was finally suppressed by President Jackson. Neither Canada nor Australia will tolerate a dominant bank—in fact, it is just as erroneous to grant a monopoly in banking to a single body of persons as to grant a monopoly of any sort of trading to a single body of persons.

It is impossible to give any account of the history of the monopoly of the Bank of England here, but it is sufficient to say that it has been the cause of millions and millions of

losses to the country, and already it is seen that the period of its dominancy is coming to an end, and cannot possibly survive the next great commercial crisis and monetary panic which is sure to come. I am happy to say that Sir Henry Fowler, in the Indian Currency Committee, expressed a hope that the debt of the State to the Bank of England would be paid off, and so leave the field clear for the reorganization of the banking system of England. It would therefore be a vital error to institute a system of banking in India which is doomed to extinction in England.

In my opinion, the only true system of banking to institute in India is to reorganize the Presidency banks, and to permit the free extension of banking by private enterprise. But whichever system be adopted, there is one thing indispensable—that there should be no limit imposed on the banks in their power to issue notes.

When, about 1809, the extravagant issues of the Bank of England had seriously depreciated the value of the bank-note, one of the measures proposed was to impose a limit on its power of issuing notes. But the Bullion Report, which is a great landmark in the history of economics, emphatically condemned the plan of imposing a limit on its power of issuing notes, because it said that there were times of commercial crisis in which it was indispensable that the bank should have the power of issuing notes to support houses which could prove themselves solvent, though their assets might be temporarily unavailable. This doctrine received universal approval from the highest commercial authorities. Sir Robert Peel said in 1819 that he would never consent at any period, however remote, to impose a limit on the bank's power of issue. Mr. Thornton, one of the most eminent bankers in London, and one of the authors of the Bullion Report, said in 1804 that if an Act were passed similar to what was afterwards enacted in 1844, it would lead to *universal failure*, and this was fully verified in 1847, 1857, and 1866.

The fact is that Sir Robert Peel had conceived the extraordinary idea that all commercial crises were due to the excessive issues of bank-notes, and that if he could only impose a limit on them, it would prevent commercial crises from arising. But Peel did not seem to be aware that the most terrible commercial crises and monetary panics in the last century took place in countries where there were no bank-notes at all.

Everyone who is conversant with the organization and mechanism of banking, into the details of which it is impossible here to enter, knows that imposing a limit on the issue of notes is no protection at all against the creation of excessive and unsound credit, whereas when a great commercial crisis takes place there is no possible means of assuaging it except by banks having the power to issue notes to support commercial houses who can prove themselves to be solvent, but whose assets are not immediately realizable. Amateur writers on economics and legislators who never had the faintest notion of the organization of banking have had bank-notes on the brain.

In the monetary crisis of 1855 I was in the direction of a bank, and circumstances came under my observation which have never been mentioned in any book nor in any discussion on the subject in Parliament, which showed me that the true supreme control of credit and paper currency is in the rate of discount. In 1856 I said in my work on banking that the true supreme method of controlling credit and paper currency is by adjusting the rate of discount by *the state of the bullion in the bank and by the state of the foreign exchanges*. This principle is now universally acknowledged and recognised to be true, and every bank in the world is now managed by this principle.

In the Committee of the House of Commons of 1858 which sat upon the great monetary panic of 1857, Mr. George Ward Norman, who was one of the keenest supporters of the Bank Act of 1844, acknowledged that the Bank of England found that this principle was amply sufficient for all their purposes.

At a meeting of the Political Economy Club, Sir John Lubbock observed to me that it was the greatest discovery of the age. As this principle is now fully understood and acted upon by all bankers, it is perfectly unnecessary to impose a limit on the issue of notes by banks, which was utterly condemned by all the highest authorities on banking at the time it was proposed, and the experience of the Bank of England since 1844 has shown that in times of commercial crisis it can only produce universal disaster.

The Indian Government has declared its intention of instituting a thorough and exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of banking. It has now a *tabula rasa*. It has the opportunity of instituting a system of banking to last for all time, and it is to be fervently hoped that it will carry out its declared intention, and that it will adopt that system which is proved to be the best by solid reasoning and ample experience.

It would be quite out of place here to enter into greater detail, which would not interest lay readers; it is sufficient to lay down certain broad general considerations. But if any person cares to go more deeply into the subject, I may mention that I have exhibited the whole of the scientific principles and organization of modern banking in my "Theory of Credit,"* to which I may refer any readers who may wish for fuller information.

* Publishers: Longmans and Co.

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM IN INDIA.

BY A. NUNDY, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

ONE of the most difficult problems which the British Government will have to solve in the near future is that relating to the Eurasians of India. The question is daily growing in importance by the increase in numbers of those who belong to this community, and it will require most delicate handling. Claiming to be of the same flesh and blood as the ruling race, and at all events a direct result of the occupation of India by the British nation, they, with some show of reason, seem to think they ought to receive some special consideration and exceptional treatment. That they are loyal to the country from which they or their ancestors derived their birth may be admitted as a matter of course; in fact, they are proud of their connection, be it ever so remote. They have in times past rendered most valuable aid in upholding the power and prestige of the Government, and at present contribute very largely towards making up a volunteer force, whose services may be requisitioned in the event of any foreign aggression or internal disturbance. But of late there have been indications that a spirit of discontent is moving amongst them—a feeling that they are receiving, neither at the hands of Government, nor of non-official European employers of labour, that consideration to which they imagine themselves to be entitled. Some do not hesitate to assert that the Government is loosening the tie that binds them to it by withholding from them what they consider to be their just claims. It is thus quite within the bounds of possibility that they, without becoming actively hostile, may make themselves very troublesome and create a cause of anxiety to the Government.

So far back as 1860, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, fully realized the peculiar significance of the

Eurasian problem when he wrote: "I can hardly imagine a more profitless, unmanageable community than one so composed as the Eurasians. It might be long before it would grow to what would be called a class dangerous to the State, but very few years will make it, if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government, and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand, if cared for betimes, it will become a source of strength to British rule and usefulness in India." And Lord Lytton, writing twenty years afterwards, recorded a minute in which, whilst deploring the condition of this community, he struck a warning note as to the consequences which would inevitably ensue unless some measures were devised to avert what he called "this great political and social danger." He drew the attention of the Local Governments to the question, and appointed a Commission in 1879 to report on the education of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian children, with the result that certain facilities were granted these classes for educating their sons and daughters, a sum of money being appropriated for that purpose by the Government. At the same time encouragement was given to an organization, in different parts of the country, of associations for the welfare of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. What has been the outcome of these measures? It would be idle to disguise the fact that these remedies have failed to accomplish any good. The evil is more accentuated now than it was before. The education thus provided has to some extent been availed of, but the opportunities for utilizing this education have been limited. Lord Lytton had foreseen this difficulty, when he wrote: "We cannot hope that measures for the education of destitute European and Eurasian children will be successful, if they are undertaken without reference to the means of existence available for such children in after-life." Whilst, on the one hand the number of those to be provided for has very largely increased, on the other hand the education imparted to the natives has had the effect of ousting to a great extent the

Eurasians from that class of appointments which they had previously held; moreover, the Government has found serious obstacles in the way of making any special provision for them, and the non-official European employers of labour are showing a preference for men that are born and bred in England. As to the associations that had been started in various centres, they unfortunately failed to produce any good results. They had practically lost sight of the object, which ought to have been their chief consideration, that of consolidating into one community the divergent sections into which the Christians of European descent in India are divided, and had allowed questions of colour and position to influence their mutual relations. No serious attempt was made to infuse life into a community, not only indifferent to its own interests, but practically inert, and to stimulate it with a desire for self-respect, self-help, and mutual co-operation, so that by a combined effort there would be some chance of promoting the moral, mental and physical welfare of the individuals of which it is composed. Curiously enough, these associations gave indications of life only when their feeble efforts were put forward to resist what they considered the encroachments of the natives in their attempt at self-advancement and in their agitation for obtaining administrative reforms. As a matter of fact, those persons for whose benefit these associations were organized took but little interest in them. They were composed of a handful of members, most of whom thought they had done their duty when they had paid a small annual subscription, and as to any practical results, they might have been non-existent.

Before investigating the causes which have reduced the Eurasians to their present condition, it will be desirable to obtain a precise idea as to who these people are, and how it is they happen to be split up into so many sections and sub-sections. In the last census the number of Eurasians in India is given at 80,000, but at least 20 per cent. more may be safely added to this figure to represent the real

mixed population in India, for it is an undoubted fact that a large number of those belonging to this class took advantage of a fair but tell-tale skin to pass themselves off as pure Europeans. Taking into account the increase in their number within the last ten years, the Eurasians may fairly be reckoned at the present time at 120,000. A writer in Madras has under the authority of Government written a series of "bulletins" on anthropology. The last number of the *Museum Bulletin* contains an interesting account of the Eurasians. Mr. Edward Thurston thus describes the community: "In colour Eurasians range from sooty black through sundry shades of brown and yellow to pale white, and even, as a very rare exception, florid or rosy. The skin darkens with advancing age, and even among those with fair skins there remains a tell-tale pigment on the neck, knees and elbows, as also in the axillæ, the glands of which, as in the native, pour out under the influence of emotion or exercise a profuse watery secretion." In some cases, indeed, there is hardly any trace of the European to be found in them. Those which may be said to form the lower strata of the Eurasians are generally to be met with in Presidency towns, and in smaller numbers they are scattered over the most important cities of India, and are usually called "East Indians."

"East Indians" contribute perhaps much the larger proportion of the mixed population, and are the descendants mainly of Portuguese settlers, partly by marriage and partly by concubinage with native women. To these must also be added the descendants in the third or fourth degree of British soldiers serving the East India Company, some of whom made India their home, and contracted marriages more or less legal with natives. Their progeny in the first instance were, of course, Eurasians, but by inter-marriages with "East Indians" or pure Indians, the European blood diminished, till at last very little of it is found in the veins of the present generation. The condition of the "East Indians" is especially wretched—they find they

have no home, no ties to bind them to one country or another, and are fully cognizant of the fact that they are looked upon with contempt by the Europeans and shunned by the Indians. They bear European names, no doubt, and adopt a kind of European dress, and speak a corrupt form of a European language, but in their habits and mode of living they are strongly Oriental. They profess the Christian religion, but are most impartial in their devotions to deities of other religions. They will as readily illuminate their houses in honour of a Hindoo goddess, or make offerings to the *Tasias* in the Mohurru in adoration of a Mahomedan saint as they will burn a couple of candles to propitiate the Virgin Mary. That they have degenerated, and are degenerating still more every day, is an undoubted fact, and now in the words of the late Archdeacon Baly, one of the best friends this community has ever had, they have come to be recognised as "in the mass an immoral, pampered and unproductive class, too idle or too conceited to submit to hard work and practise an honest industry as unbecoming their European descent. It has so little of European energy and manliness, and approaches so nearly to the natives of the country in habits and mode of life, that except in the external profession of a different faith, and in the partial use of a different language and mode of dress, there is not much distinction between them."

The Eurasians, properly so called, are mostly of English descent, their male progenitors having come out to India to fill subordinate offices under Government, or in mercantile offices and railways, or it may be they were adventurers in search of a living. They settled in this country and contracted marriages in some cases with the better class of "East Indians," and in others with Indian women. Some of them no doubt are descendants of soldiers, who, owing to some fortuitous circumstance, have been prevented from sinking into the class of "East Indians"; on the other hand, there are not a few who can trace their ancestry to Europeans of high rank, who, previous to the existing facilities

for returning to and visiting their homes, were in the habit of forming connections with the women of the country, who to all intents and purposes took up the position of a wife, whether or not a legal ceremony of marriage had been observed. Indeed, if we look back to the past history of India, we will find the names of some most distinguished officers, civil and military, who belonged to this class, and whose sons and daughters, having received a good education, married pure Europeans, and thus transmitted their Indian blood to their descendants, many of whom at the present moment are holding a high position in Anglo-Indian society, but they would feel deeply insulted if anyone insinuated that there was any mixture of blood in their veins. The Eurasians taken as a class are undoubtedly on the increase, for they receive large accessions from the domiciled Anglo-Indians, who often contract marriages with them and become absorbed in them. By the Indians they are called *kiranis* (lit., clerks), which at one time accurately described their occupation, for their one aim in life seems to have been to procure clerkships, and to live and die in that capacity. Before higher education was imparted to the pure Indians, there was an ample field for the employment of Eurasians as section writers and clerks in various offices; but with the spread of education they came to be gradually ousted by the Hindoos and Mahomedans, who were found competent to do the same work on a much smaller remuneration. Fortunately for them, a very wide and extensive field of employment has been made available, which, though not very lucrative in all its branches, on the other hand, does not demand a very high education from those who join its ranks. The network of railways that is gradually spreading over the length and breadth of the land affords employment to thousands of Eurasians, who in large centres form quite a community of their own.

But what are the evils which have retarded the material and moral advancement of this community? The evils are many, and are far-reaching in their results. They may

be summarized and considered under the following heads : (1) The helplessness and indifference of the Government to provide some means of relief ; (2) the prejudice and dislike of the Eurasians on the part of the Anglo-Indians ; (3) the oversensitiveness, false pride and indolence of the Eurasian, and his hankering to Europeanize himself ; (4) the utter absence of any sentiment or desire for union amongst the members of this community, and their lack of patriotism.

1. *The Helplessness and Indifference of the Government to provide some Means of Relief.*—I have already indicated that the Eurasians have good grounds for asserting a claim upon the Government for a special consideration at its hands. Why, then, has it failed to discharge its duty in this matter ? To this various answers are given. Some would ascribe it to the indifference of the Government to the Eurasian, and hence it has been proposed to send a monster petition to Parliament, as if that would bring the executive to its bearings ; others point out its helplessness as the reason why it has been prevented from doing anything for this community. The truth lies between the two : the Government has been both helpless and indifferent. It is helpless, because it stands pledged to govern the country free from any favour or prejudice as to race, colour, or creed. It is therefore compelled to employ the fittest person, and there is no doubt whatever that the Hindous and Mahomedans have more readily availed themselves of the facilities for education so as to qualify themselves for some of the best Government appointments. It is helpless, because with a limited exchequer it has to adopt a policy of economy, and to resort to the cheapest market for carrying on the ordinary work of administration, and it is needless to say the Indian supplies the cheaper article. It is helpless, because, though the Eurasian is standing at its door praying for help, he will not stir an inch to help himself. Perhaps this disinclination to self-help on the part of the Eurasian is the best justification the Government has for doing so little for his benefit. But, at the same time, the

Government cannot be altogether acquitted of the charge of indifference, for, unless it is prepared to own its administrative incapacity, how is it that it was not able to devise some plan for organizing Eurasian regiments, and thus utilizing a population sunk in abject misery and becoming more degraded every day? It is indifferent, because it does next to nothing to encourage technical education, so that the people of the country, whether Eurasians or Indians, may qualify for some at least of those posts for which men have to be brought out from England. It is more than indifferent, when it practically deprives the Eurasians of the privilege of holding a few good appointments in the higher grades of the Police, Public Works, Education, and other departments, preferring Englishmen nominated either at home or appointed by the Viceroy.

2. *The Dislike of, and Prejudice against, the Eurasian on the Part of the Anglo-Indian.*—It would not only be mere affectation, but it is really detrimental to their interests, for the Eurasians to close their eyes to the fact that the Anglo-Indians generally entertain a decided prejudice against them, and that there are many who do not hesitate to show it in their behaviour towards them. Unfortunately, these feelings are not confined to Anglo-Indians in any particular sphere of life, but pervade all grades of English society. The British soldier strongly objects to the Eurasian apothecary, and a few years ago the members of this community had almost this department closed against them, had it not been for remonstrances addressed to Government by the Calcutta Association. The merchants and tradesmen prefer to employ, as clerks and shopkeepers, Europeans whom they pay at a high rate. The planter selects as his assistant a young man of pure English blood. As to what goes on in the railway is no secret. A soldier who has taken his discharge is at once engaged at Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 a month to start with, whilst the Eurasian has been doing the same work for years, and has not yet obtained the same remuneration. Many a deserving

Eurasian has been passed over in civil employ because his superior officer had a prejudice to his class. The missionary societies in connection with the Church of England select for ordination either pure Indians or pure Europeans, and have deliberately refused to accept such as are of mixed blood. In the late controversy on the Eurasian Problem, in which the Anglo-Indians took a prominent part, one called the Eurasian "a lazy, helpless, useless lout"; another said "that he is wanting in self-reliance, pluck, honesty, and truth"; a third asserted, "if he is at all sharp, he is too sharp, and needs too much looking after; and if dull, then he is no use whatever." But it is not only in the struggle for existence that the Eurasian finds himself hampered by prejudice, but this feeling is evinced in a more pronounced form in private life; and if the truth were known, it is the fear of his being brought into closer contact with the Eurasian that often makes him act unfairly to members of this class. Ordinarily the two classes do not come into contact with each other, but there are some Eurasians who, by virtue of their position, are admitted as members of the club in Mofussil stations, and are thus thrown into the company of Europeans. Their experience is indeed humiliating: in most cases they find they are merely tolerated, there is no approach to intimacy, no disposition shown to arrive at such a friendly footing as characterizes the relations of two Englishmen towards each other. There is indeed a great gulf that divides the two classes, and it seems utterly impracticable to bridge it.

3. *The Oversensitiveness, False Pride, and Indolence of the Eurasian, and his hankering to Europeanize himself.*—It would be idle to disguise the fact that the Eurasians themselves are responsible to a great extent for the deplorable position they are placed in at present. No doubt other causes beyond their control have contributed to this result, but for all that, they cannot be absolved from their own responsibility in this matter. The mass of the Eurasians are certainly poor, and therefore unable to give

their sons a good education ; but even in this respect the members of this community have made matters worse for themselves by neglecting the opportunities afforded them. Competition from all sides has been very keen, and in the struggle for existence they have met many reverses ; but has this struggle been carried on by them in such a way as to overcome some of the difficulties that have crossed their path ? When we take into account the fact that the Indian has first to learn the English language, and then proceed with his general studies, we cannot but be struck with the fact that he is either more diligent or has a greater aptitude for learning, since he is able successfully to compete in examinations with the Eurasian, who started with many advantages in his favour. The Indian climate is no doubt very trying and exhausting, but is it wholly responsible for the general impression that the Eurasian loves his ease, and would rather sit at home doing nothing than engage in work which he either considers not sufficiently dignified or remunerative, or not in accordance with his tastes ? Some thirty years ago a fairly large number of Eurasians were members of the executive and judicial services, or were heads of departments in various offices. Now in these offices only a few of them are to be found, fewer still in the executive, and none at all in the judicial. This is owing, to a great extent, to the fact that a knowledge of the vernacular languages is required for these services and offices, but the members of this community have sedulously abstained from learning these languages, with the desire to prevent anyone perceiving that there was anything Indian about them. Eurasians have been found, who pretended inability to speak the dialect of that part of India in which they were born and bred, or they speak it so badly that it would have been impossible to utilize them in a position where it was essential that they should be able at least to converse with freedom. And can it be honestly denied that there is a good deal of justification for the European employers of labour cherishing a low estimate of the Eurasian, and com-

plaining of his being lazy and wanting in diligence and perseverance? An Anglo-Indian post-master in the Mofussil once told me that on several occasions, when the superior authorities had sent Eurasian clerks to his office, his life had been made a misery to him. They were irregular in attendance, one wanted to go to a prayer-meeting in the evening before his work was finished, another to a cricket match, and a third to escort some ladies to the band-stand, with the result that the whole office was demoralized. Then, again, can the Eurasians be altogether acquitted of the charge of improvidence, due to some extent to their imitating the Anglo-Indians who are in better circumstances or more highly placed? The community, taken as a whole, is poor, no doubt, but even as regards those amongst them who are enjoying a substantial income, we find that their children do not receive a good education, partly because they have always lived up to or beyond their means, and have saved nothing, and partly that by the time a lad is sixteen or eighteen years old he thinks more of dress and society than he does of education. Many an English merchant in quest of a clerk on Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 a month fights shy of a young man coming to him dressed in the height of fashion, and rejects him simply because he suspects that he will live beyond his means, and may give way to temptation.

4. *The Absence of any Sentiment or Desire for Union, and the Lack of Patriotism.*—This constitutes a great hindrance to the advancement of the Eurasians, for not only is there an absolute indifference to the general welfare of the community, but we find a complete estrangement amongst individual members of it. We find one brother divided from another, and both from the sister, the father alienated from the son. And why? Because circumstances have placed them in different spheres of life. Thus, there is a complete disintegration of family ties and interests, and if this be so where the family is concerned, it can be imagined how absolute must be the estrangement in the case of strangers.

A Eurasian, as soon as he obtains a certain social position, proceeds to ignore the existence of those of his class who are not equally fortunate, carrying it sometimes so far as to avoid exchanging a word. The Bishop of Lucknow, in his annual address last year to the Allahabad Association, laid special stress on this matter. He said: "There are, I know, some men who, when they rise to a position, are apt to forget their origin and their domicile—apt to kick away the ladder up which they have climbed." There are thousands of well-to-do Eurasians scattered over India of whom it may be said, that their interests are centred in their self and in the immediate members of their family, who have joined no associations, and are altogether careless as to the poorer members of their community. Some years ago a general meeting of the N.W.P. Association was convened at Allahabad, and of the many that were invited only three attended, two of whom happened to be passing through during the Christmas vacation.

But the lack of patriotism in the Eurasian is an evil against the recognition of which he has deliberately set his face, whilst it is gradually undermining the whole fabric of his existence, and will surely in the near future bring about a serious catastrophe. The success of the Englishman is due to his indomitable energy and perseverance, his love of independence, and his patriotism, which is prominently developed in the American or Canadian, or Australian or South African colonist. Wherever the Englishman goes he is actuated by the one desire to make the country of his adoption a home to all intents and purposes, and by all the means in his power to advocate the interests of that country. And this characteristic is more strongly developed in his descendants, who are deeply attached to the land wherein they were born, and whose advancement and prosperity claim their first consideration. But what do we find in India? The Eurasian refers as his home to a country which his forefathers quitted for ever, and of which he possesses absolutely no knowledge, and is indifferent to

the fate of that country wherein he resides, and which is to provide him and his descendants with a living. The Indian blood which flows in his veins should constitute a sufficient reason for enlisting his affections, but this is a fact which he altogether ignores. And even apart from this claim on him, he might make a virtue of necessity, considering how his own welfare is dependent on the prosperity of the country, and show some little interest in its affairs. But no; the attitude he adopts is, "Perish India! it is no concern of mine."

Is the condition, then, of the Eurasians utterly hopeless? I think not. If they were to correct the failings which we have pointed out, and if the Government and the Anglo-Indian employers of labour do their duty towards them, there would be some amelioration in their condition. Let us consider what each can do towards this desirable end.

1. The eradication of race prejudice. Let the Eurasian cultivate self-respect, and show the people around him that he is not ashamed of himself. Let him by his conduct impress upon the Anglo-Indian that, though not quite the same as what he is, the Eurasian is as good as he is. But what he does at present is this: he goes to the Englishman and says, "I am what you are, and——" Well, before he has finished the sentence the Englishman has laughed outright. The Anglo-Indian has a horror for affectation and the putting on of false appearances; he would gladly concede the respect due to a Eurasian, but that the latter insists on making himself out what he is not. Nothing can do away with the fact that he is of mixed blood, but why need he be ashamed of this? The higher castes of Indians are Aryans, and come from the same stock as the Englishman, who, by the way, is a product of a curious mixture of the Phœnicians, Kelts, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Amongst the Eurasian grievances is one that none of their men are ever appointed as members of the Supreme or Provincial Councils. How can the Government nominate them when they take a pride, as it were, in displaying their ignorance

about India, and do not profess to be interested even in their own community? But with a more healthy sentiment pervading amongst them, it is certain the Eurasians would begin to take an interest in the land of their birth, and would adapt their studies and their aims in a different direction to what they are doing at present, as well as avoid those pitfalls and snares of improvidence, which they fall into by a close imitation of the Anglo-Indian.

2. Let the Eurasians cultivate a spirit of union amongst the members of their own community, and assert themselves as such, not acting as mere appendages to the Anglo-Indian. Let associations be organized at different centres, and branch associations at every large Mofussil station. Let fresh life be infused in those already in existence in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, and Allahabad, and let deputations of two or three members go forth from these cities and hold public meetings, or interview prominent Eurasians in different stations, and thus secure adherents to the good cause. There is some talk of starting a Eurasian journal in Allahabad. Nothing could be better, for there is urgent need of this community being roused from its apathy by some home truths being told to it by a party whom they cannot suspect of bearing any ill-will towards them, and who will denounce in no sparing terms the failings of the Eurasian. And, indeed, it would be most desirable to have separate journals for each Presidency, so that local interests may not be overlooked. Within the last two years the existing associations have given indications of a certain amount of activity. But to start with, a blunder has been committed which will in the long-run be detrimental to the interests of the Eurasians. The name by which these associations have hitherto been known was Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, but the Calcutta Association first started the idea that it was desirable to drop the term Eurasian, not only as applied to it, but as regards the Eurasian himself, and call him Anglo-Indian. As was to be expected, the proposal was actively resented by the *bonâ-fide* Anglo-Indian, and a certain

amount of plain speaking was indulged in by both sides. Notwithstanding these mutual recriminations, the proposal was adopted. The other associations were appealed to. Bombay, where the Portuguese element strongly predominates, accepted the Calcutta suggestion; Madras wisely refused; Allahabad cannot make up its mind one way or another, and has deferred the consideration of the subject. Thus, by one stroke of the pen the dark-skinned Eurasian of Calcutta and Bombay has been converted—at least in name—into the white-complexioned European. What was the necessity of this change in the name which a community has borne for a long period? It was said that some Anglo-Indians and a larger number of Eurasians, who, on the strength of a fair but tell-tale skin, were desirous of passing themselves off for what they were not, refused to join associations that were styled Eurasian. What has been the net result? The names of a few Anglo-Indians and a few Eurasians, who were ashamed of themselves, have been enlisted, but for all practical purposes it has done the Eurasian community no good, whilst it has subjected it to a good deal of unnecessary ridicule. Advertisements that used formerly to be worded, "No Eurasian need apply," now appear in the form, "None but pure Europeans need apply." The planter or merchant, when he receives an application from an "Anglo-Indian" writes back to inquire if he is a pure European. The traffic manager of a railway, when applied to for the post of a guard or driver by one bearing this dubious title, takes good care to satisfy himself as to the identity of the individual. Thus, the Eurasian by posing as an Anglo-Indian does not benefit in any way, but by entering into a partnership with him is likely to do himself harm. Each class has its separate interests and its separate grievances; the aims of the one are naturally higher than the aims of the other. If the demand of the Anglo-Indian Association is conceded by the Government, and men for the higher appointments in the Police, Public Works, etc., are more largely recruited in India, the Eurasians will not necessarily benefit by this, for they will

be quietly ignored ; and if non-official European employers of labour respond to the appeal addressed to them, there is not the slightest likelihood of the restriction " No Eurasian need apply " being removed. The single-mindedness of some of the Anglo-Indians in their desire to associate the Eurasian in a joint agitation is not very convincing. There are no doubt a few who are actuated by good motives, others are notoriety-hunters, and others, again, have the shrewdness to perceive that by themselves they have neither the right to expect any sympathy nor to assert any demand. They came out to this country in the different services, or in the railway, or as merchants, or barristers, and will leave India as soon as they are entitled to a pension or have earned a competence. Some of these would like their sons, who have failed to do anything in England, to be provided for, and with the influence they possess they sometimes succeed in their endeavours. But they feel they cannot assert any substantial claims, hence their desire to combine with the Eurasians. At the same time, they do not care to be associated with anyone calling himself a Eurasian ; they have therefore tried to wheedle those who belong to this class to drop their obnoxious name. The number of domiciled Europeans in India is comparatively small, and of the lower class of them it may be said that some have married Eurasians and become identified with them ; and as to others, they are thrown into the society of members of this community, and in the next generation or two will become absorbed with them. It is the non-domiciled Anglo-Indian, and the higher class of those which are domiciled here, whose interests are not co-ordinate with the Eurasians, and association with whom can do this class no good. Of course, the sympathy and advice of men like Bishop Clifford and Justice Knox will always be valuable, but for any active work that has to be done the Eurasians must depend on their own exertions, and those of the leaders chosen from their own community.

3. The establishment by Government of technical and industrial schools. Government is open to the charge of

having done so little to encourage technical and scientific education. Having regard to the number of railways, factories, mills and mines that are being opened, a large field of employment is available to the Eurasian, if he were qualified ; but not being so, it is at present appropriated by imported European labour. If the necessary training had been given, hundreds of Eurasian youths who are now almost destitute would have been provided for ; but it seems as if it were the deliberate policy of the Government, just as it buys stores in England which might be had cheaper in this country, to perpetuate the employment of English skilled labour, to the detriment of those born in this country. This is undoubtedly a matter in respect to which associations of all communities might combine, to start a vigorous agitation, and bring pressure to bear on the Government to create facilities for obtaining a good technical, artistic, and scientific education, to encourage the pupils by offering rewards and prizes to the most deserving, and by giving them employment, if declared efficient, and, lastly, to form at different centres museums, by which the public taste might be cultivated and information diffused.

4. The removal of restrictions to promotion from the provincial to the Imperial service. The division into two services has struck a serious blow to the Eurasians. Formerly a good many men at the present moment holding appointments in the higher grade of the Police, Public Works, Educational, and other departments were promoted from the subordinate grade. Now a hard and fast line has been drawn, and no Eurasian can expect any advancement, however efficient he is, or what meritorious service he has rendered. Surely an experienced inspector of police may reasonably be expected to make a more efficient head of the district police than a raw youth who knows nothing of the people, their language, or their habits. The Engineering College at Roorkee has produced some very capable men, but it appears to be the deliberate aim of the Government to reduce it into a second-rate institution, so as to draw all its officers for the Public Works Department from

Cooper's Hill. Of course, if the Eurasians, who are the chief losers, choose to sit quiet and do nothing, they need not grumble at their position. They must not only agitate, but qualify themselves to meet the demand there is for skilled labour. If duly qualified, there is every hope that they will meet eventually with justice both at the hands of Government and the non-official employers of labour.

5. The organization of Eurasian regiments. After making full allowance for those who may be able to secure appointments under the Government, in the railways, or elsewhere, there will still remain a large number of Eurasians who have to be provided for. What can be done for them? Various schemes have been propounded, but have not been acted on, as they were found to be either unsuitable or impracticable. Bearing in mind the result of the attempt at Eurasian colonization in Whitefield in the Madras Presidency, we may dismiss the scheme of hill settlements as one possessing too many difficulties to be attended with success. The Eurasian has neither the desire nor the experience and physique requisite for a farmer on a small scale, ready to put his hand to the plough if necessary. There is no room, either, for emigration, which has been suggested by some. Recent events have shown how strictly the colour-line is drawn in the colonies, who would without doubt object to and disallow Eurasian immigration. There then remains only one other alternative, that of organizing Eurasian regiments. This is a very vexed question, which has already been decided adversely to the Eurasians, but the Government must see that this class is daily increasing, and that their destitution is still more on the increase. The highest authorities have predicted that, unless something is done to relieve them, they will become a source of anxiety. The Government has therefore to face this difficulty, and resort to the only remedy available, that of organizing a number of Eurasian regiments. Surely our statesmen will be able to remove any obstacles to the achievement of such an important object.

EXPLOITATIONS IN UGANDA.

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS,

Author of "In the Niger Country."

THERE have been issued two important Parliamentary papers* dealing with this comparatively newly-opened region, the report on the Uganda railway by Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E., and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald's account of his expeditions into the surrounding territory.* Even glanced at superficially they demand attention, but the interest is deepened to those who, knowing how the Englishman lives, and too often dies, in tropical Africa, can read between the tersely-written lines, and realize at what cost this extension of dominion has been won for us. The story of the Uganda railway would make a romance in itself, as would that of many a similar undertaking carried out successfully in spite of heat, starvation, and fever, and afterwards recorded in brief official terms. But this work was done with precaution and foresight, and therefore without needless loss of life—some there must always be—for the sick were skilfully tended, and it thus compares favourably with other railways in the tropics whose every sleeper was laid in blood.

It may be taken as an axiom in many parts of Africa that one railroad is far better than either troops or gun-boats (which latter on the East Coast station cost some £110,000 per annum) for the putting down of slavery, while without it the advent of the white trader only encourages the hateful system. The reason for this is plain. The slaves formerly shipped overseas in dhows from Muscat were after all a minority, while wherever the European sets up his factory there is need of means of transport between the hinterland and the coast, for merchandise travels long distances in Africa. To all intents and purposes there are no roads. Beasts die on the West Coast of

* Parliamentary Papers, Africa, Nos. 5 and 9.

something akin to fever, on the East of the tsetse fly, and the head of the *tenga-tenga* man is the only means of replacing them. Therefore, as most negroes despise laborious work, the inland, and unostentatious, slave trade keeps pace with the extension of the white man's commerce. In West Africa this is also the case, and a caravan of 9,000 men once entered a certain town with merchandise for shipment from a British port near by, many of whom were slaves. Now, one locomotive will do the work of scores of porters, especially in sterile regions where each man must carry many days' rations as well as his load, and by killing the demand naturally ruins the trade.

Further, traffic into Uganda was almost crippled by the fact that it took nearly three weeks to traverse a foodless region, so that if the donkeys which carried the commissariat died, as they generally did, the *ulendo*, or expedition, came back helpless. The railroad which will change all this, and much more besides, was commenced at Mombasa in December, 1895, and the initial difficulties can only be thoroughly realized by those who know the tropics. There was neither shelter nor food available for the swarm of subordinates and labourers imported largely from India, speaking many different languages, and often antagonistic to each other. There was neither wharf nor jetty, an indifferent harbour, and in the heat of the tropics, intensified by the distressful steaminess which hangs over the edge of the sea, material had somehow to be landed on an open beach and dragged up a steep incline. Then the worthless and drunken were weeded out—and we read there were many of these—cranes, houses, hospitals, and workshops had to be built, and with infinite difficulty a commissariat established, while the port was presently moved to Kilindini, on the further side of Mombasa Island.

Next it was necessary to construct a temporary wooden bridge a third of a mile long to the mainland, and shortly afterwards the Rabai range rose across the path, where the

constructors were forced to practically double the track, laying a temporary one with sharp curves and heavy grades to bring up provisions and materials for the builders of the more level permanent one. Indeed, this expedient was necessary throughout much of the way. About the fiftieth mile the rails ran into the Taru desert, where there was less grading; but a desert in Africa is by no means always a level waste of sand. Instead, much of it is covered with dense, dwarf forest, laced and bound together by many kinds of thorns, and it is necessary to enter such a waste to form even a faint conception of it. Every growing thing seems contrived especially to lacerate the human flesh, while so closely is the whole bound together that only an axe or matchet may open a passage. Further, the stuff when hewn down will seldom burn; thus, treble labour is necessary to pile it clear of the track, while nothing eatable can be found in it.

Again, through all that country there is a dearth of water fit for use in boilers, much less for drinking, and special tank-trains had constantly to be run. Indeed, when one reads how in this place it was charged with bitter salts, and in another merely liquid mud, one wonders how it was possible to keep steam on the locomotives at all, or save the labourers from destruction. Water in the tropics is a treacherous article. There are streams in West Africa of which if a horse drinks he dies, though to human beings they are innocuous, and the reverse at times holds good. Then, for some reason good water when stored in tanks occasionally develops unsuspected properties, and decimates a camp with dysentery. Thus, as was to be expected, more sickened of such diseases than fever, and it is a high testimony to the medical skill that thrice the number did not perish. Fever, too, from the same reason, was less fatal than usual in such undertakings, although the total of suffering was sufficient, and that it is trying to work in blinding heat or the still worse suffocating damp of the tropics when shaken by malaria the

writer can testify. One's head aches intolerably, there is a racking pain down the back and in every joint, while to remember things in their order is exceedingly difficult; indeed, he can recall trying to pay coloured labourers some £50 in British currency, and taking all day to count it. This is at a blood-temperature of about 102° ; when it rises to over 104° or 105° the sufferer's troubles cease, for he either dies off quietly or lies still in a blessed indifference to pain and surroundings.

Later arose the difficulty of transport from rail-head to the advance parties, in which camels, mules, oxen, donkeys, died off as imported; in one expedition, for instance, one returned out of 120, while an unfortunate contractor lost three lakhs of rupees, and out of 130 camels and 140 bullocks saved only 15, half-dead. The humble "jigger" also crippled the human carriers and coolie labourers, and there seem to have been some 15,000 of these, while, without tracing its genealogy, the writer may mention what he has learned from a personal acquaintance with the pernicious insect. Throughout much of tropical Africa, if you walk with uncovered feet, even in tent or house, you will probably find a curious tickling follow, most likely under the big toe-nail—that is to say, if one is lucky. Then the wise man gets a negro skilled in such matters to take the tiny intruder out with knife or needle, while if this is neglected or impossible, burrowing deeper presently it swells, and a numerous progeny eat their way through the foot until the latter rots away. You may see negroes often with only the stump of an ankle left, and the writer has been told, though he has not witnessed it, that the jigger invades other portions of the body as well.

There was next a stretch of uncovered, rolling desert, utterly devoid of food, to traverse in the Athi plains, while all the time the varying level rises from the coast to the heights of the interior, until some 350 miles from the sea a ridge 7,800 feet above tide-level has to be crossed, and a precipitous dip negotiated into a rift 2,000 feet-deep,

which, extending far north and south, divides the Kikuyu and Mau escarpments, the latter rising some 3,000 feet above it. Here for a time at least rope-inclines perforce will be used. Then there is an abrupt slope down to the journey's end on Lake Victoria. So malaria-swamp, impenetrable scrub, mountain ridges, scorching plains, and the fluted sugar-loaf escarpment—for such the twin heights appear in profile—had to be surveyed and crossed with mostly untrained labourers, many sicknesses fought with, and sometimes armed raiders, too—perhaps one of the most difficult pieces of rail-laying attempted in the world. Yet between December, 1895, and December, 1898, 256 miles had been laid, at a cost of some 1,500 men of all colours dead or invalided, though perhaps the most difficult work remains yet to do.

Even when the steel highway is finished to the waters of Victoria, it appears, commercially speaking, very doubtful whether we shall ever get our money back. With the exception of the Singo highlands and some other uplands, the country is evidently unfitted for European colonization; that is to say, the majority of white men will more readily find a grave than a home in it, and the others exist as it were upon sufferance. The rivers, too, which elsewhere serve as channels of communication, are here rather huge obstacles, for many are choked with papyrus and forests of giant reeds impassable by canoe, and often unfordable by carriers, so close are their nine-foot stems. Then there is the labour difficulty, for the Waganda and their offshoots are scarcely adaptable, and an ever-present trouble in finding food, the banana fried half-ripe, or made into flour, being practically the only thing available, and we find it recorded that all provisions for the 15,000 railroad men had to be imported. It is curious that while banana flour is largely made by these unskilled semi-savages the writer once found a white man in the Canaries who had spent much time and money on all kinds of costly appliances, and failed to satisfactorily produce it.

Still, the coolie may perhaps colonize Uganda, and once established there on an outlet from the heart of Africa, even if we fail, as we probably shall, to settle white cultivators upon the soil, we may hope to set up a great mart for British goods, and gather in equatorial produce, which would otherwise gravitate westwards through the Congo State. It has been proved elsewhere that when the market is opened wholly unexpected customers flock in, while, strange to say, distance seems no object to the slothful African. At least, it is so in other parts of the Dark Continent, for the negro even more than the Bantu seems born with the trading instinct, and from almost unknown regions, passed often through many hands, merchandise flows in.

Then there is the moral side of the question, the suppression of slavery, the letting in of civilization, and the establishment of even justice, which the British, though somewhat egotistically and often blunderingly, accept as their special mission. There is evidently need for the latter, because between the Soudanese mutineers who until recently appear to have run riot over the country, Moslem raiders from the North, and predatory intertribal wars, the state of Uganda has not been a happy one. Also—surprising, perhaps, to those who have not seen the same thing elsewhere—the work of the officials in attempting to maintain the Pax Britannica has been further hampered by the preachers of peace, because the missionaries' adherents of different faith, besides hating each other with a deadly hatred, occasionally coerce the heretical or collect proselytes by force of arms. This is unfortunate, but I know much the same appertained in the Niger country, where, as in Uganda, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike by disputes, which are often more than wordy, bring discredit on a common Christianity. In both regions the mutual recriminations have almost a ludicrous side, especially in Uganda, when one party declares it has made twice the number of converts the other has, and the latter answer

that the said converts were incorrigible thieves and drunkards they had turned out of their fold. To those who cared to follow it, and remembered Justinian, a recent newspaper correspondence must have proved an interesting object-lesson. And meantime through much of dark Africa, one and indivisible despite its wrappings of superstition, the faith of Islam steadily advances, teaching at least sobriety, and more or less skilled industry. It has struck the writer, among keener observers, that the missionaries often fail by reason of what some of them glory in—the casting out of fear, because the negro seems as yet hardly fitted to grasp the idea of doing well for the love of it, and a grim, sword-hilt religion, with its *lex talionis*, makes a finer man of him. It is also little use sending him a man whose only qualifications are zeal and allegiance to the doctrines of his particular sect, for even the naked heathen discriminates, and looks for moral power or personal bravery. Failing to discover these, he classifies his would-be teacher as a "white bushman," sometimes, I regret to say, with a forcible British adjective and the word "low" in front of it.

Much light has been thrown upon the lesser-known region surrounding Uganda proper by the work of the expeditions under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, especially that northwards by the great Lake Rudolf towards the Abyssinian border. Here again the lack of food and the native cultivator's insecurity of tenure are made manifest, while the story is chiefly that of a grim race with starvation, and a running fight by unfed men with the physically splendid Turkana, who stalked them through the undergrowth or tried to storm the midnight camp, fighting on occasion with desperate gallantry. Well it was for the white officers that they had good men from the fighting Soudan, and loyal Swahilis to follow them. In fact, in spite of its cut-and-dry record—for the Government does not encourage sensational writing—the account of the starving column limping at last into Ngabato, with the last ounce of rations exhausted, to find the relief expedition

had not arrived, and how stubbornly holding on with a twelve days' march ahead they met it the same day, form a thrilling narrative.

Another expedition starting to Latuka, partly in the hope of joining hands with the Egyptian forces *via* Sobat and the Nile, penetrated the mutineers' country and territories partly ruled by Moslem potentates. Here again food could not be found, and men starved and sickened on rations of ground-nuts. They were further soaked in drenching rain, the equatorial deluge which, coming down in solid sheets, hurls the mould into the air, scrambled and hewed over mountain-sides and through bamboo jungles. During the march there was the constant prospect of trouble with the late mutineers, and Captain Kirkpatrick sent out with a survey party was treacherously murdered, after which a hard battle was fought. This northern region would seem to be overrun with well-trained soldiers, who have set up petty kingdoms of their own, Emin's men, old Egyptian soldiers, mutineers from the British service, and some Dervishes, while apparently its subjugation would be most difficult.

Indeed, the more one investigates the present condition of the region about Uganda, the stronger is the conviction that the few white men have entered a hornets' nest. Still, more difficult things have been done than its setting in order, and it is gratifying to find that some of these splendid banditti are tendering allegiance to the Government again. In Africa, at any rate, the warrior-robber, who has seen the error of his ways, if ruled with a strong hand makes an unexcelled policeman. That is why on the West Coast our black constabulary are largely recruited from Moslem semi-raiders of the hinterland, who proved at Bida and elsewhere that they will fight to the death beside their new masters. The tribesman of this kind seeks diligently for the strongest and boldest leader.

During the whole of these expeditions the officers were forced to curious expedients to purchase donkeys, which

where available replaced the "human carrier" as a transporter of commissariat. However, as the murderous tsetse confines its operation to the region nearer the coast, goats, sheep, cows, and bullock-skins were the medium, six donkeys being the value of one cow, and one donkey representing ten sheep. The rupee has been lately introduced as a means of currency, but so far with small success. Britons abroad often do curious things, and there is a ludicrous side of the matter when one reads of an army officer setting up as a connoisseur of donkeys. Still, there is no doubt he did it thoroughly, with the conscientious attention to details, and not so much adaptability to circumstances as the power of forcing circumstances to adapt themselves, which characterizes the British colonizer the world over.

The last march of the split expedition to the help of the starving column returning from Lake Rudolf forms a splendid story, of the collection of food in spite of almost unsurmountable difficulties, and fighting a way through the fastnesses of savage ranges, where every chief conspired to throw obstacles in their path. Shot at by poisoned arrows, rushed by spearmen, storming caves and barricades, crossing an apparently unscalable range, they held on, and at last, fording the Wei Wei River amidst the wildest enthusiasm, met the starving column they had faced so much to help. One likes that phrase "wild enthusiasm"; it shows the real human nature through the concise simplicity of the Government report, in which no man tells how much it cost him to do the thing. That appeared desirable, so we did it, he says; another was murdered, and we buried him.

The moral of the whole is that Uganda and its surroundings is not the kind of place one would recommend rash emigration to. All the way from Lake Rudolf to Mombasa its inhabitants have apparently much difficulty in feeding themselves; indeed, of late they have died like flies of famine, and the even worse sicknesses that follow.

There is also, perhaps, a danger of trouble with the Abyssinians, for bands of their predatory horsemen periodically raid it, and Menelik's Christian warriors are clearly foemen of the very grimmest kind, as evinced by the awful Italian defeat at Amba Alagui. Still, with the help of the sturdy Soudanese and the faithful Swahili, in due time we shall doubtless establish some degree of order and prosperity there; while lying as it does in the fairway between Rhodesia and the Egyptian Soudan, it forms an important link in the chain of British influence—we were going to say territory—which is extending from Table Bay to Alexandria. Whether Egypt and the Transvaal will eventually be permanently welded in, too, as yet it is premature to say.

MOROCCO: THE MOGADOR CONFLICT, DECEMBER, 1899.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

A SHEREEFIAN FIRMAN, MARCH 1, 1879.

"By this present Edict we publish, by the grace of God, and confirm the powers accorded by our ancestors—may God have mercy on their souls!—to the foreign representatives at Tangier, which powers we hereby authorize them to exercise, to wit, to admit or refuse all vessels arriving at the ports of our empire, to declare quarantine against them, and to determine its duration according to sanitary regulations.

"The exercise of these functions by the foreign representatives, who are more familiar with and better qualified to administer such sanitary laws than others, is strictly limited to the sea, and does not apply to the land.

"The delegations of these powers by our forefathers to the foreign representatives is an evident proof of the friendly regard of the latter, and shows the pains they take on behalf of our subjects.

"Under the Imperial seal of the Sultan Mulai el Hassan."

A MOST gracious and reasonable epistle, as the reader may observe, but, alas! the good Sultan, Mulai el Hassan, is dead these five years since, and with the advent of the boy Sultan, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, who in all things is guided by the advice of the Grand Vizir, Ben Mūsā, the relations existing between the Sanitary Council, referred to in the above rescript, and the Moorish authorities, are not only less cordial than in those days, but have reached a stage which threatens not merely the efficiency of the Council, but its very existence.

Early in this year, 1899, urgent representations were made to the Mekhazen, or native Government, to forbid for the present the annual departure of Mohammedan pilgrims for Mecca, in view of the likelihood of the outbreak of the plague either at Mecca itself or on the route traversed by the pilgrims. Such a measure had been adopted on former occasions, but this year the Moorish Government declined to accede to the suggestion.

Some hundreds of pilgrims from different parts of Morocco consequently embarked, and before their return cases of plague had already occurred at Jeddah, the port whence the Hajis re-embark on their return journey. The Sanitary Council thereupon decided that all travellers arriving from foul or suspected ports should undergo quarantine on the small island at Mogador, which had hitherto been used for this purpose on similar occasions. The island in question is not especially well adapted to the requirements of a quarantine station, since it is situated too near the mainland and to the town of Mogador itself, so that evasion is not impossible, as the natives are good swimmers; still, it is the only available locality where it would be possible to isolate the occupants without employing a considerable armed force. Unfortunately, this very circumstance had led the Moorish authorities to select the site for the establishment of a prison, where a large number of unfortunate political captives were already confined. The demand for its cession was at first categorically refused.

The returning pilgrims would soon arrive. There was but little time for prolonged negotiations between the Council at Tangier and the Grand Vizir at Morocco City, as it requires quite one month for an answer from the capital, even when it pleases the dilatory natives to give their immediate attention to official despatches, and all that could be secured was the unwilling concession of the unoccupied portion of the island, far too limited an area; and, besides, it would be impossible to isolate cases owing to the crowded prisons close at hand, and the constant communication between these and the town which could not be controlled. Some of the more energetic among the foreign representatives at once proposed a joint naval demonstration off Mogador, and the occupation of the island by force, if it should not be immediately vacated and the prisoners be removed.

The various Ministers consulted their respective Governments, but the replies were uncertain, and there was no

unanimous resolution. Fortunately, the Russian Minister, who had just returned from Morocco and had been received with especial attention as the first representative directly accredited by the Tsar to the Sultan of Morocco, wrote a friendly but emphatic letter urging the Sultan to accede to the demands of the Sanitary Council, a course advised by other European counsellors nearer at hand, and at the eleventh hour the Mekhazen very reluctantly conceded the use of the entire island, and ordered the removal of the prisoners, many of whom had already died of diseases consequent upon overcrowding, filth, insufficient nourishment, or simple starvation, thus outrageously anticipating His Imperial Majesty's orders.

This was in May last, the period when the foreign Ministers generally absent themselves on leave. On this occasion two only, the Italian and the Spanish Ministers, remained at their posts, but the latter, Don Emilio de Ojeda,* is, fortunately, one of the most strenuous defenders of sanitary interests, and chiefly at his suggestion it had been decided, before his colleagues took their departure, that each foreign Government should advance a sum of 10,000 francs to temporarily equip the Mogador lazaretto. In this way a sum of 70,000 francs was procured, which sum, it was assumed, would ultimately be reimbursed by the Sultan's Government. It was further agreed to purchase disinfectants, stoves for the disinfection of clothes, and to have temporary shelter erected for the pilgrims on their arrival.

The chiefs of the various other legations thereupon gracefully took their departure, leaving their secretaries to carry out these instructions.

Early in June Dr. Cortes, the physician of the Sanitary Council, accompanied by a force of some thirty infirmary

* Monsieur de Ojeda's reputation is not confined to Morocco ; he has held, among other important posts, that of Secretary to the late Hispano-American Peace Commission at Paris, and is an accomplished littérateur and an admirable linguist.

attendants and artisans to erect the stove-sheds, etc., started for Mogador.

The Moorish officials assert that no communication was addressed to the native authorities at Morocco or to the Governor or port authorities at Mogador, and that the expedition, disregarding every form of courtesy or official etiquette, proceeded to take possession of the island, and to erect the stoves and sheds which they had brought with them without the permission of the native Government.

The Moorish authorities, both at Mogador and at Morocco, who realized that sooner or later they would be called upon to pay for this expense, a quite unsolicited outlay and activity, were all highly indignant. Whilst most unfortunately the foreign Consuls at Mogador, although they had been duly informed, by their respective legations at Tangier, of the measures to be executed, were also unfavourably disposed, and complained that the sanitary physician, Dr. Cortes, who was in command, did not call upon them, nor solicit their good offices, prior to commencing operations. As a matter of fact, Dr. Cortes, on his arrival at Mogador, was informed that a vessel crowded with returning pilgrims was expected in a few hours, so that he was obliged to remain on the island to hurry all preparations; but, as soon as he was free to do so, he called on the French Consul, who was the doyen of the consular body at Mogador.

These Consuls, it should be explained, are mostly resident merchants, and as such were opposed to the island being used as a lazaretto, fearing that its proximity might prove prejudicial to trade and to the shipping interests generally. This opposition of the Consuls has, indeed, been always an awkward feature in the question, but it is especially to be regretted that the Moorish authorities should have been allowed to utilize it at this critical juncture as a weapon against the Sanitary Council. As to the assertion of the Moorish authorities, that they had not been duly notified, this is absurd in face of the fact that both Dr. Cortes and the President of the Sanitary Council had, before the expedition left Tangier, called on the Sultan's

delegate Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier, to whom the object of the expedition had been fully explained, and this delegate Minister, Haj Mohammed Torres, the official medium of communication, himself gave them a letter for the Governor at Mogador.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the Moorish authorities at Mogador, disregarding the instructions received at Tangier concerning the cession of this island as well as the letter from Sid Torres to the Governor, proceeded to remove, by armed force, the material landed at the island, and ordered Dr. Cortes and the employés of the Sanitary Council to withdraw. This outrageous violence and discourtesy to the Sanitary Council, composed, as it will be remembered, of the chiefs of all the foreign diplomatic missions at Tangier, could scarcely have occurred at a more embarrassing moment, as shortly afterwards the outbreak of the bubonic plague at Oporto was announced, and between Portugal and the coast of Morocco there is frequent communication, owing to the fishing boats and other Portuguese sailing craft which visit these ports. The country was thus threatened by a new danger calling for greater vigilance and increased sanitary precautions, at the very moment when the only body competent to protect Morocco from the invasion of this dread disease was, by the stupid and malevolent action of the Moorish authority, deprived of all power to contend with difficulties, to deal with which it would require all and more than all the resources at the command of the foreign representatives.

The plea by which the Moorish Government attempted to justify its subordinates, in a somewhat insolent despatch to the representatives at Tangier, was that the cession of the island as a quarantine station had been a merely temporary or conditional measure, and that the erection there of buildings or other works without prior authorization from the Moorish Government, would constitute a definite occupation, and that the Shereefian Government would resist, if necessary by armed force, any such attempt. The despatch further reminded the foreign Ministers that they

had frequently of late exceeded their powers in other respects, thus adding gravely to the gross offence already offered at Mogador.

It is, perhaps, difficult to exaggerate the importance of this incident, although some of the foreign Ministers, on their return from their summer leave, affect to make light of it, and seem even disposed to justify, to a certain extent, the Moorish authorities by blaming those who remained at their post, and especially the *chargés d'affaires* who, in the absence of their chiefs, were left to deal with such serious responsibilities, without time or opportunity for prolonged negotiations. It seems, however, to the writer that any considerations which tend to exonerate the Moorish officials only increase the importance of this comminatory incident, and that for the foreign Ministers to tolerate, collectively or individually, such an ignominious *fracasso* of their official prestige would be a grave indiscretion.

For the moment the Sanitary Council employed the only retaliatory measure by which they might hope to ward off the invasion of the plague, by telegraphing to Jeddah and all suspected ports that any vessels embarking pilgrims or other passengers would be refused admission to all Morocco ports, and fined £5 for each and every passenger whom they might attempt to land.

Thanks to this energetic decision, we have, thus far escaped all contact with the sources of contagion.

The essential points to be considered are, first, the urgent necessity for quarantine protection in a country like Morocco; where it would be quite impossible to isolate individual cases or to carry out any house-to-house inspection, owing to Mohammedan customs and the inviolability of domiciles, which absolutely prohibits such precautionary measures; whilst the general indifference or fanatic fatalism of the natives adds an insuperable difficulty, should the disease be once introduced into towns, like most of those in this country, where the filth of ages is generally allowed to fester with undisturbed carelessness as to the consequences, since the devout Mohammedan argues that if the

plague should break forth, it is God who so wills it, and that to interfere with His decrees would be a blasphemous outrage upon the supernal administration.

It is, in fact, quite wonderful that the intervention or establishment of a European Sanitary Council should ever have been admitted, and, still more, that its extension by delegation to a quasi-municipal organization, composed of resident foreigners and Israelites at Tangier, should also have been more lately tolerated.

In the first instance, indeed, the latter body was presided over by a Moorish delegate, who, however, ultimately withdrew, nor has it since been possible to secure the attendance of any native official. Still, the Hygienic Commission, known to the Moors as the *Tindif*, is not only allowed to collect a tax on the slaughter-house, which tax is applied to sweeping and paving the streets, and also to building or repairing drains, etc., but the authority of this Commission is generally recognised by the Moorish officials, so that minor police powers are occasionally exercised with the support of the local authority.

The Commission also supplies antidiphtheritic serum, and also vaccine, gratis to the community, and has, moreover, now procured the Yersin serum in case of the appearance of any symptoms of bubonic plague, of which thus far there has been no indication whatever. Besides all this, the Commission pays for the electric lighting of the principal streets and for the interment of dead animals, whose Moorish owners allow them to lie unmolested where they may have fallen.

The reader will therefore realize how important to the mixed community of Tangier and the coast towns of Morocco are the functions exercised, directly or indirectly, by the foreign representatives, either as members of the Sanitary Council or of the Lighthouse Commission, which latter administers the light at Cape Spartello, to the west of Tangier; and the road leading to the lighthouse, a handsome building erected by a French architect at the Sultan's expense, but which is maintained by the following Powers:

Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Holland, and Sweden and Norway.

When it is remembered that, in addition to their normal diplomatic or political duties, every legation also exercises judiciary functions, its members constituting a tribunal to which the subjects of the respective Powers are amenable, it will be seen how varied and important are the responsibilities and obligations of the Ministers and Consuls-General accredited to the Sultan of Morocco, but who reside in Tangier.

None of these various functions, however, expose the foreign representatives to such harsh and adverse criticism, or constitute, on the other hand, such undeniable proof of their disinterested and unselfish devotion to the public well-being, as those entailed by their position as members of the Sanitary Council, over which each chief of a mission presides in turn for a period of six months. It is therefore earnestly to be desired that some *modus vivendi* regarding the Mogador lazaretto may be established. The matter at present is in the hands of the Italian Minister, who is now at Morocco City, where he in his turn has gone to present his credentials to the Sultan—somewhat tardily, as Signor Malmusi has now been in charge of the Italian Legation for nearly three years.

Unfortunately, questions of collective or general interests are too frequently sacrificed in favour of the special demands of the legation directly concerned, to which claims each Minister, on his occasional visits to the Court, devotes his utmost energy of persuasion or menace, as the case may be; and as the Mekhazen has learnt by repeated experience that questions which concern merely general interests, entail neither naval demonstrations nor other forms of constructive coercion, whilst, on the other hand, the neglect to satisfy even the least important or most monstrously unjust demands on behalf of the subjects or native protégés of the foreign Powers leads to serious trouble, it naturally follows that questions of the gravest

importance affecting trade, commerce, or sanitary interests are too often relegated to the Ides of March.

As in the present instance the most important of the outstanding Italian claims has just been satisfactorily settled (I refer to the purchase of the *Bashir*, the small armoured cruiser ordered in Mulai el Hassan's reign from Messrs. Orlando, of Leghorn), possibly the road will be more clear, and Signor Malmusi more at liberty to devote attention to the important case entrusted to his care.

With regard to the present Italian Mission, which, like the Russian, is one rather of courtesy than of any political importance, it is amusing to observe the comments of the Continental press, and especially of the Paris papers, with their fierce intimations that Italy must remember that there are only two Powers to whom Morocco can be of any concern or interest, viz., Spain or France—a piece of quite uncalled-for and swashbuckler bravado, intended, evidently, more for England's ear and for Lord Salisbury's especial attention than for the Quirinal.

It is clear from other utterances that France is still hoping for some compensation for the Fashoda incident, here in Morocco. Has not the *Temps*, together with other accredited organs of French opinion, plainly declared that should England succeed in adding to her domains the two South African republics, France would assume the position of paramount power in Morocco? It is difficult to see on what ground, or how the extension of English law throughout Southern Africa could injure the interests of other nationalities. As a matter of fact, the failure of England to maintain her supremacy there, would probably prove more dangerous to the independence of Morocco than would England's success, as nothing would so excite and stimulate French colonial zeal as some irreparable blow to English prestige.

It will be well, therefore, if both English statesmen and Moorish officials will bear in mind the great advantage which France's conterminous Algerian frontier would afford, should France deem it desirable to exert

pressure on the Sultan's Government. It is also wise to realize the personal element at the French Legation, where the term of Monsieur de Monbel's occupancy is drawing to a close, unfortunately, perhaps, for Moorish peace of mind, since we shall lose a most capable diplomatist of the class by whom France was more frequently represented in former times than at present, a man of a just and courteous disposition, of excellent family, and large means, a most notable sportsman, well known at Chantilly and on the turf elsewhere, and, above all, a most charming companion. Whilst the pace at the Tangier Legation is likely soon to be forced by younger men of another type, not less able, perhaps, but certainly likely to be less conciliatory and patient in dealing with the exasperatingly evasive native officials, with whom Monsieur de la Martinière, during his archæologic explorations had already, in former times, come into sharp collision long before the appointment of this distinguished young savant to the post of Consul-General and first Secretary of the French Legation at Tangier, had been contemplated.

It must therefore be admitted, if we take into consideration Monsieur de la Martinière's somewhat hasty disposition together with the present arrogance of the Moorish officials generally, and especially the extraordinary self-sufficiency of the Grand Vizir, just now flushed with his facile success in repelling the salutary intervention of the Sanitary Council at Mogador, that we have not far to seek for the elements of a wholesale conflagration.

It may be generally premised that the longer any foreign representative remains in Morocco, the less is he likely to initiate any departure from established precedent. On the other hand, as each new arrival enters upon his duties, the greater is his confidence in the possibility of improving the antiquated procedure, which so urgently demands some infusion of hopeful energy ; but, alas ! even a short stay at one of the Tangier legations seems too often sufficient to transform the newcomer into a hesitating valetudinarian, who, having apparently abandoned all hope of any improve-

ment, quietly succumbs to the constant checks and pin-pricks, to which the slightest display of any desire to initiate the most obviously essential modification at once exposes the would-be reformer. Thus it comes to pass that in exact proportion as a Minister learns what should be done, does he become incapable of acting at all, contenting himself with the paltry satisfaction of merely hindering any attempt on the part of his colleagues to accomplish what each has tried in his turn, and where each, in his day, has been thwarted by the spirit of petty international or, worse to say, even personal jealousy.

The situation would not be so distressing as it is, could any improvement be hoped for from the native administration, or if the Moors could be induced to accept the advice of the more capable amongst the Europeans in the employment of the Sultan, some of whom might have saved the Shereefian Government from many an *impasse* which has exposed Morocco to serious danger, involving subsequent humiliation; but the native views on all economic questions are so hopelessly wrong that it seems quite impossible to hope for any amelioration. For instance, they imagine that were the exportation of cereals allowed, subject even to an export duty, the country would be left without a sufficient supply for home consumption; that the export of horses, which is absolutely forbidden, would only benefit possible foes, and that the value received would rather be injurious to established order than beneficial, since the tribesmen, could they but afford the luxury, would arm themselves more effectively, and the standard of revolt be more frequently raised. But it is unnecessary to add to the list of offences against reason and good government of a land, where the native authorities often refuse to allow the grain, which encumbers the ports of the more bountiful provinces, to be shipped to neighbouring towns where the poor are suffering from scant supplies and from starvation prices. It is almost needless to observe that no Government, which should consider the reduction of its population to a condition of pauperism, as the only policy consistent

with its own security, could exist in any but an Asiatic or Mohammedan community, and yet the strangest feature in the situation is the fact that, were the Sultan's Government involved in a war with even the most humane of the foreign Powers, it would be undoubtedly supported by this same oppressed and ill-treated population. It is perhaps this very consciousness which may seem to the Mohammedan rulers of this country to justify them in their own retrograde and exclusive policy, and which makes them doubt the value of the advice of any European. The Sultan's Government might, however, do well to reflect that if Europeans do not always understand the conditions which affect the native mind, they do realize those which will influence the final action of European Governments, should the latter be forced by Moorish obstinacy to adopt a more coercive policy.

Speaking of European advisers reminds me of an interview published not very long since in the *London Times*, wherein Kaid Maclean, formerly an officer in H.M.'s forces stationed at Gibraltar, but who has now been for many years in the employment of the Shereefian Government as military instructor, gave some very interesting information concerning the Sultan's army of some 40,000 men; but the impression of military experts is that, notwithstanding the admirable quality of the Moor as a fighting unit, it would require many years still of European discipline and a much better organization than is possible under native officers before these forces would be able to meet on equal terms a European army corps of similar numbers, notwithstanding the intelligent devotion of Kaid Maclean and his untiring zeal, qualities which were highly appreciated by the late Sultan Mulai el Hassan, and which have even won such half-hearted confidence as the present Grand Vizir accords to those whom he least dislikes. It would be well indeed if Ben Mūsā would more often consult his subordinate, and it would be well, also, if English merchants and manufacturers would also take to heart the advice tendered to them by the gallant officer, who urges his

countrymen to study the conditions of the native markets, and to show more readiness to adapt their goods to the requirements of purchasers. But when Kaid Maclean tells us that English trade with Morocco is falling off, he is, unfortunately, not speaking quite by the book, since the last consular reports show, on the contrary, an increase both of British imports into Morocco and of exports from the Moorish ports north of Mogador of £71,320 in 1898, as compared with the returns for 1897, whilst German imports and exports at the same ports for the same period show a decrease of £28,830. Possibly the returns from Mogador, when received, may tend to alter the difference in favour of Germany, who of late years has proved the most serious competitor of Great Britain in Morocco.

There is no doubt that German commercial travellers are more active than those representing British firms, whilst not only are German manufacturers more ready to meet the local requirements of customers in countries like Morocco, where poverty and ancient customs have been long allied, but the freights asked by German steamers are lower than on English lines, and the service, so far as care and punctuality in delivering goods, far superior. Indeed, it is mortifying to admit that merchants and residents here often have to complain of the frequent delays in the receipt of goods from England, and that sometimes packages disappear altogether, and are either lost or stolen in transit. Another serious local grievance is the defective management of the English Post-office at Tangier, a branch of the Gibraltar Colonial Post, and therefore, most unfortunately for us, not under the control of St. Martin's-le-Grand, nor is it subject to H.M.'s Legation at Tangier; for Sir Arthur Nicolson, whilst one of the most considerate chiefs, would not tolerate such a lax and inefficient service, due chiefly to the absence of properly trained English employés. I may add, in this connection, that Sir Arthur is the only chief, past or present, of any legation whose name has to my knowledge been mentioned by the faithful, during

the mosque services, with mingled praise and gratitude for the equal justice displayed alike towards Christian and Moslem.

With regard to the effect here of the war in the Transvaal, I regret to say that, owing to the unfair tone both of the Spanish and the native Gibraltarian journals, the feeling is distinctly anti-English. The more ignorant among the natives, and even some of the better-class Moors, imagine that the adversaries who have dealt such heavy blows are the South African blacks, and it is perhaps felt to be some compensation to the punishment of the Khalifa's forces at Omdurman, that the negroes of South Africa should have inflicted checks upon the English arms, the seriousness of which even the English themselves admit, whilst by the Continental papers, whose echoes reach the café and the bazaar, their importance is grossly exaggerated.

The rulers of Morocco will do well to carefully watch the course of events to the close, when they may perhaps discover, from this terribly costly object-lesson in international political economy, that it is not merely trade prosperity alone which follows the path of unrestricted commercial facilities, but that security from invasion is subject to similar conditions, and that in exact proportion to the spirit of selfish exclusion shown by the nation or community is the danger of subjection. Let Morocco realize that trade and commerce are the master forces of modern life—forces which will not always tolerate the independence of those retrograde and ignorant communities, who are neither able to develop the natural resources under their control, nor willing to learn from others who might, if allowed, sweep aside the stupid restrictions which convert into a desert of woe and despair a land, that requires only the magic of intelligent administration to be transformed into a paradise, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, and with hidden stores of copper and silver and gold also, wherewith to pay the piper.

ST. HELENA IN THE PRESENT TIME.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY R. A. STERNDALE, GOVERNOR OF
ST. HELENA.

I AM afraid my readers will not find St. Helena in the present quite so interesting as the quaint details of "ye olden tyme" given in my former paper.* We do not hang and quarter, burn, and flog in the way that used to give a zest to the humdrum existence of insular life in those days. That was a condition in which it is fortunate that history does not repeat itself. I have a more pleasing picture to draw of the time since the emancipation of the slaves, a measure which was initiated by Sir Hudson Lowe during the period of Napoleon's incarceration in the island. As Sir Hudson Lowe's character has been so often drawn, as that of an oversevere and unsympathetic gaoler, it is pleasant to turn to his philanthropic endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the slave population, and in so wise and far-seeing a manner that when, some years after, the full effect of it was realized, the baneful results of sudden manumission which were experienced in the West Indies were not apparent in St. Helena. The first step he took was to free the coming generation, and after much deliberation he induced the slave proprietors to agree that after Christmas Day, 1818, all children born of slave parents should be free.

The cause of the parents was still further advanced by General Alexander Walker, who became Governor in March, 1823, and who made great efforts to improve their religious and moral condition, and to fit them for their full emancipation, which, at a cost of £28,000, took place in 1832. It may take some generations to eradicate habits of dependence and indolence which are the hereditary outcome of so long a period of serfdom, but education has told, and is telling, on them, and, as Melliss writes of them:

"They are a very quiet, tractable, inoffensive people, amongst whom crime is small, murder unknown, and burglary so little thought of that doors

* See April, 1899, pp. 345-352.

and windows of houses are not secured by bolts and bars, or even locks and keys."

I can confirm this, for during twelve criminal sessions, over which I have presided as Chief Justice, on all except two occasions have I received white gloves. Civil litigation is common enough.

They are kindly disposed one to another, showing much sympathy in sickness and trouble, and are courteous to strangers, who are generally much struck by this, and by the comparative purity of the English spoken by them. Their faults are lack of energy in overcoming difficulties, and their proneness to accept a failure as a finality—take, for instance, vine culture. I remember in years gone by splendid grapes in St. Helena, but the vine disease was introduced and the vines perished, never to be replanted. The same thing happened in Madeira, but the people there took heart and tried again, and with success. It is a common story in St. Helena, "Oh yes, I remember such and such things when I was young, but they died out long ago."

That lemons were common in the island is proved by the many places, such as Lemon Valley, Lemon-tree Gut, etc., being called after this fruit, which is now extinct and has to be imported from abroad. And with peaches, the same story of the good old days—no finer peaches to be seen anywhere, but now from ungrafted, unpruned, in every way neglected trees, miserable, worm-infested crops of worthless fruit are gathered.

Providence has been kind to the coffee-tree, which still flourishes and bears abundant crops of excellent coffee of the old Mocha stock, but for all the care that man takes, it might have gone the way of the grape and the peach. I, who have seen the care, the pruning, manuring and hoeing of coffee plantations in India, have never ceased to wonder at the generosity of the St. Helena tree, which often bears its white starry blossoms whilst the pickers are gathering the ripe fruit. There is much land now devoted to pasturage which would yield a better return under coffee cultivation,

but there is the drawback of scarce and dear labour ; however, this might be overcome. I have shown that the tree does not require so much attention as in India, and the picking can be done by girls at sixpence a day, supervised by women who get a shilling. Ordinary labourers' wages have now gone up from two shillings to half a crown a day, owing to military and other works in hand. I had an idea that tea would grow well, not so much for export as for island consumption. Some years ago, whilst inspecting the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund, I found that the boys were drinking tea which they had grown on the estate, and had made up at a neighbouring factory for a few annas a pound (I think two annas). I saw no reason why the poor of St. Helena should not be able to buy tea at sixpence a pound, grown in the island and made up at a small central factory. That tea will grow is proved by the existence of some China plants which were introduced in the time of the East India Company. In 1896 I tried the experiment, having taken out with me a native of India who had been for nine years an overseer on a tea estate in Assam. I got some tea seed and reared a number of plants, but in the meantime I had to return to England, and whilst there to recall my tea-planter, and on my return I found that the rabbits had devoured my young tea seedlings, and so ended an experiment, which cost me nearly a hundred pounds. But still I feel inclined to try again under my personal supervision. But whatever experiments are tried in the starting of any industry, they should be tried by those who will devote the whole of their time, labour, and money to it, as a tea or coffee planter does, when he goes out to India. Land is not dear here—the average price of estates lately sold has been from £10 to £15 per acre—but as the culturable area is limited, it does not often come into the market. As I said before, much valuable land is now kept solely for pasturage, which would, if highly cultivated with coffee, yield a much better return. That island coffee is now in demand is proved by the fact that, having sent away last month a barrel

of coffee from the Government House plantation as a sample to Messrs. Lewis and Peat, coffee brokers, of Mincing Lane, with a view to ascertaining its quality, I discovered that I could not purchase any island coffee from other sources, as the whole stock had been bought up by the contractors for the troops, Messrs. Solomon and Co., who kindly let me have a little for my own consumption. It was only the other day I was pointing out to some friends, who had lately arrived, some coffee-trees on an estate, which had been allowed to run up from 12 to 15 feet in height; they looked the picture of health, and were bearing freely, but ought to have been pruned down to about 4 or 5 feet.

In 1869 the Government attempted to introduce cinchona, but without much success. A nursery was farmed under the supervision of a skilled gardener sent out from Kew, who raised about 10,000 plants from seed, of which about one half were put out on the slopes of Diana's Peak; but the experiment was discontinued in 1870, by Admiral Patey, who came out as Governor with instructions to reduce expenditure, and in the retrenchments which ensued, the gardener from Kew was struck off. From that time the cinchona-trees were left to shift for themselves, and now there are probably not more than 150, some of them fine ones and fairly healthy. At the present time, the cultivation on such a limited scale as could be carried out here would not be commercially profitable, as the large cinchona plantations in India, Java, and other places have brought down the price of the bark. Still, the trial has shown the wonderful capabilities of this little island, where, in an area of 47 square miles, plants from all parts of the globe have been grown with success; and one remarkable feature of this adaptability of soil and climate has been the struggle between the indigenous and the imported flora, which has resulted in the former being driven back to the central mountain range, the northern edge of the vast crater which existed in the volcanic period, the southern portion of which is now under

the sea. As the Red Indians slowly retreated before the pale faces, so the old flora of St. Helena, which clothed the now barren rocks down to the sea in the days when, in 1502, Juan de Nova discovered the lonely isle on the birthday of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, has retreated inland to the peaks of Actæon and Diana; there you will still find the ferns of the place, from the stately tree-fern and the huge *Diplazium*, with its seven-foot fronds, down to the tiny filmy fern (*Hymenophyllum capillaceum*). Here too, the foliage strikes you as being of an old-world character. The trees have a weird, unfamiliar look, such as one would associate with the megatherium and the mylodon. Sir Joseph Hooker, in his lecture on Insular Floras, refers to that of St. Helena as being "most interesting; it resembles none other in the peculiarity of its indigenous vegetation." In another part he says, speaking of the indigenous species: "Forty of them are absolutely confined to the island. These forty are absolutely peculiar to St. Helena, and, with scarcely an exception, cannot be regarded as very close specific allies of any other plants at all." It is to be regretted that some of the most interesting species have become extinct, among them the beautiful ebony-tree (*Melhania melanoxylon*), of which no traces remain, save a few crooked bits of wood, occasionally disinterred from the soil in places where it grew, and even these are becoming very scarce. Yet this was one of the most abundant trees, probably one of those which in Juan de Nova's time clad the rocks with verdure down to the cliffs overhanging the sea. It was so abundant that it was cut down to burn the lime used in the building of the fortifications. The destruction of the forests and extinction of many of the indigenous plants were due to the ravages made by goats, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries existed in thousands, laying waste the country. In 1709, the Governor proposed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that the goats should be systematically destroyed for the preserva-

tion of the ebony-trees, but was told that he was not to do so, for the goats were more valuable than ebony!

It was only in 1810, that steps were taken to rid the island of these animals, but then it was too late to save the forests, and much of the beauty of the place was lost; still it is very beautiful in the interior. Those who pass by the island and see only frowning precipices of brown lava have little conception of the verdure of the inland hills and valleys. St. Helena was aptly described by an eminent Russian, His Excellency M. de Kologrivoff, who paid us a visit last year, as "an emerald set in granite." The diversity of the scenery is remarkable, and I have heard various people describe it to me as reminding them of Scotland, Ireland, Derbyshire, Devonshire and Switzerland. If any of our artists, who roam afar in search of new pictures to place on the walls of the Academy, would only spend an English winter, our summer, in this island, they would be amply repaid for the trouble and expense. There are few scenes in the world grander than that from the ridge just below Actæon's Peak, looking down on Sandy Bay. You look down the huge crater of the extinct volcano, a crater four miles across, of which the southern edge is under the sea, and the northern, on which you stand, is clothed with the only remaining forest of indigenous trees; to your right front the grassy slopes of Mount Pleasant, backed by a dark fringe of pines, juts out into the amphitheatre of rugged rocks, which stretch around in ranges crested with wild fantastic peaks which seem to have pierced through the strata of basalt, scoria, and many-coloured marl by some titanic force. Nearest to us, almost in the centre of the basin, rises Lot, a huge monolith of hard, felspathic graystone, which on a ridge 1,444 feet above the sea rises nearly 300 feet; beyond, again, on a further ridge, stands another solitary sentinel in Lot's Wife, a column 260 feet high on an elevation above the sea of 1,550 feet. More columnar remains, called the Asses' Ears, break the skyline into rugged peaks; down

the water-worn sides of the steep mountains run diagonal bands of many-coloured marls ; whilst here and there on a grassy knoll, embowered in trees, nestle cosy little houses with fertile gardens, and down at the bottom of the bowl is the little bay, with the surf breaking on the shore, and the wide expanse of the Atlantic Ocean stretches away to the horizon. Could Napoleon have ever stood here with folded arms, and with bitter thoughts have drawn an analogy between his life and that of the volcano at his feet, cold, hard, and dead after a period of fiery activity ?

We who live in days of calmer reflection think more charitably, or I should say more dispassionately, of the man who brought sorrow into millions of homes to gratify his insatiable personal ambition, than our fathers did, who loathed the very name of Buonaparte, and in this island would not officially or privately give him the title of Emperor,* and therefore Byron's ode may seem to us an outpouring of spiteful vituperation ; still, here I may quote as *apropos* to the subject some of the mildest lines of that scathing verse, written by a pen steeped in gall while yet Napoleon was alive :

" The triumph, and the vanity,
The rapture of the strife—
The earthquake voice of Victory,
To thee the breath of life ;
The sword, the sceptre, and that sway
Which man seem'd made but to obey,
Wherewith renown was rife—
All quell'd !—Dark Spirit ! what must be
The madness of thy memory !"

I am writing now in the library where Sir Hudson Lowe used to receive his reports from Longwood ; the room is unaltered : the same furniture, the same old mirror over the fireplace, the same old books on the shelves. I only wish they could speak of the scenes that Dr. O'Meara mentions in his "Voice from St. Helena." There are a few articles of furniture from Longwood in this house, which belonged to the captive Emperor—a

* This feeling still lingers ; for some time one of my officials drew my attention to the fact that I had in a despatch styled Napoleon as Emperor,

cabinet and shelves in the drawing-room, and Napoleon's bookcase in the billiard-room. The billiard-table is of a still older period, and is a curiosity in itself. I found it in a lumber-room, and have had it restored, and it is now an excellent table; the cushions are new as far as the india-rubber is concerned, but the woodwork belongs to the last century. The bed is a marvellous piece of joinery, consisting of small pieces of inch-thick oak dovetailed together like a parquet floor. The marking-board counted only up to 21, which was the old game, when people played with the mace or butt, and it and some of the cues of heavy wood, ringed at the base, bear the name of a now forgotten maker, Fernyhough, of Silver Street, Golden Square. It is within 3 inches of the modern full-sized table, but the height has had to be reduced somewhat, to bring it to the requirements of the present mode of playing.

The house itself was built in 1795, a massive stone building with an imposing front and two wings stretching back, and containing within them the spacious library and a small paved courtyard. The many corridors are rather bewildering to a new-comer, and so the methodical mind of my predecessor hit upon the plan of attaching brass plates to all the bed and dressing rooms, denoting the Governor's, the Admiral's, the Baron's, and the General's suites. The children's school-room he appropriately named "Chaos." The grounds are very extensive, embracing a broad, undulating space between two ranges of pine-covered hills. The extraordinary adaptability of soil and climate I have before alluded to is here very apparent, for in the woods round the house may be noticed trees from every part of the world—huge Norfolk Island pines, one of them 110 feet high; the *Araucaria excelsa* we buy in pots at home, and value for house decoration, here a timber tree; the Australian blue eucalyptus, of which a giant near the house measures 16½ feet in circumference at a man's height from its base; the English oak and the Indian bamboo grow side by side. The Pandanus of the South Seas, stone pines from Italy, Scotch firs, Bermuda cedars, trees from

Ceylon and China, and flowers from all lands. The arum lily, which in English winters we buy at a shilling a flower, is a weed here, filling swampy places with its broad green leaves and snow-white blossoms, and pigs are fed on its roots.

Now I must say a few words about the climate of St. Helena, especially for invalids. Considering its geographical position, it ought to be tropical, being well within the tropics; but there is a steady, cool trade-wind blowing from the south-east all the year round, with a few exceptional days when it may veer to the north. The cool currents from the Antarctic regions may also have an effect on the temperature, but certain it is, that the summers in the interior are as cool as those of England, whilst the winter temperature seldom falls below 50°. Sunstroke is unknown, though you may see Europeans playing cricket or riding with only small caps on their heads, and often bare-headed even in the summer. For chest complaints, I should think this island more suited than Madeira. Invalids who go to the latter place to avoid the English winter come in also for the Madeira winter, whereas if they prolonged the sea-voyage for another ten days in delightful calm weather, they would come in for the St. Helena summer, dry yet cool. The only drawback to St. Helena is the want of house-room. There are no hotels, nor even a boarding-house, but there are a few houses in the country which could be hired for the season. It is a very sociable place, and since the garrison has been largely increased, there is always something going on in the way of tennis, golf and hockey, and cricket is played all the year round.

The St. Helenians are steady church-goers, and most of them belong to benevolent and other charitable societies. The two chief denominations are Church of England and Baptists. The former is presided over by the Bishop, assisted by the Vicars of the parishes of St. James's, St. Paul's, and St. Matthew's, who are also Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral. None of the churches can lay claim to any architectural beauty, but are capable of much improvement had we but the funds; but Church matters are at a low

ebb financially, and the property of the see has much deteriorated. Oakbank, the Bishop's residence, situated in the midst of 30 acres of the most beautiful grounds in the island, has been destroyed by white ants, and the Bishop has to live in a small inconvenient house, whilst for lack of a few hundred pounds this lovely estate is being sold for less than a third of what it cost. It was subscribed for in years past by the residents, but the people are poorer now and their resources have lately been called upon to assist in providing an endowment, so as to raise the income of the see to £400. These white ants are of a South American species, introduced in the timbers of a Brazilian slaver which was condemned in St. Helena many years ago. They work under cover, so that a beam may appear sound to look at, but crumbles at a touch. Jamestown was nearly destroyed by them about thirty-five years ago, and a fine organ in St. James's Church perished, and now we are without an organ in the island. The cathedral has a small one which should properly be placed in the museum; it has a tiny keyboard, no pedals, and was at one time fitted with a barrel containing a limited number of tunes. When I first came here it was in a ruinous condition, and the services were conducted with a very indifferent harmonium, but fortunately our present postmaster, Mr. T. Bruce, who at one time had been engaged in organ-building, came to the rescue and the old instrument was repaired. But it is very desirable that the principal place of worship in the island should possess an organ even as good as what most country villages in England have. In no place in the world would it be more appreciated, for the St. Helenians are devoted to music. There is a local band, the performers being mostly labourers and outdoor servants, and I often see the men, after their day's work is over, trudging down to Jamestown to attend the evening practices. The church choirs are also popular with them, and some of their voices, though untrained, are very good; and at funerals they almost always have a hymn sung at the close of the service by the side of the grave.

ZOROASTER, THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN.*

By JOHN BEAMES, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

If anyone wishes to know all that is at present known about Zoroaster, that mystic sage and founder of a still living religion, whose figure looms out so dimly through the shadows of the early world, he will find his desire amply gratified in the present volume. It is not too much to say that the learned and keen-sighted American Professor makes the ancient Iranian prophet live again, scatters the fog of myth and legend which had gathered so thickly round his name, and sets him clearly before us as a real personality, thinking, teaching, suffering, dying a martyr's death, and leaving behind him a faith which remained for centuries one of the great religions of the world. And he does this, not by imagination or conjecture, but by a comprehensive survey, and critical analysis of all the available information, both ancient and modern. His method is an excellent one, and worthy of imitation by all scientific writers and students. He gives first, in a masterly condensation, in broad firm lines, the whole of the facts as he himself has worked them out from his wide extent of reading. Then he says practically, "This is how I make it out to have been, but I do not wish to impose my view upon you. Judge for yourselves. Here is a list of every scrap that has been written about it by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and all kinds of other people. This point is doubtful, so I give you a separate essay on it, putting all the *pros* and *cons* fairly before you with the references, which you can look up if you care to do so. This other point is obscure, and unfortunately there is no information about it, so we can only judge by inferences. I give you in another essay the reasons which have led me to the conclusion in my text. You can weigh them for yourselves." A method so frank, candid, and unbiassed as this naturally begets confidence, and we follow our teacher with a feeling of certainty and assurance.

In pursuance of this system the first half of the volume contains the history of the life of Zoroaster in general terms, while the second part consists of learned essays on special points which those who do not care to go deeply into the scholarship of the subject may leave unread. But the whole volume absolutely bristles with references. At the beginning there are several pages containing a list of works connected with the subject; at the foot of every page are dozens of references, and among the appendices are long passages from authors in various languages quoted whole. The reader is not expected to take any assertion for granted, chapter and verse are given for every statement.

It is difficult still further to condense what is already so concise, nor can

* "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, the Macmillan Company. London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1899.

it be done without some sacrifice of detail. The main facts, however, resulting from the inquiry may now be given; for fuller information the reader is referred to the delightful volume itself.

The original form of the Prophet's name in the Avesta is Zarathushtra, concerning the meaning of which there is much doubt. Scholars are agreed in seeing in the latter half the word *ushtra* = camel; many old Persian names end in this word, as also in the names of other animals, such as *aspa* = horse, *gao* = cow—"totemistic family survivals," the author calls them. Similar animal names are common in other early Aryan races. The Greeks had their Philippos, Xanthippos; the Germans their Beowulf, Landwulf (Landulf), their Bear and Worm. As to the first part, however, there are half a dozen conjectures, all more or less unsatisfactory.

The date of his birth, disregarding the extravagant antiquity of B.C. 6000 assigned to him by the imperfectly informed Greek and Latin authors, is now generally accepted on the faith of consistent Zoroastrian tradition, supported by Arabic allusions, as B.C. 660. His birthplace was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiah, in the ancient Median province of Atropatene, now called Azarbaijan, the extreme north-western district of modern Persia. Of his family, Iranian tradition gives a long genealogy, ascending to Gayomard the first created man. The family name Spitama by which the Prophet himself is generally known—Zarathushtra Spitama—appears to be derived from the Aryan root *spit* = white, and as usual in such ancient pedigrees, is borne by the eponymous hero of the princely line. His father's name was Pourushaspa, and his mother's Dughdhova. He was thrice married, and had by his two first wives, three sons and three daughters. By his third wife no earthly children were born, but from her are to be descended three millennial prophets, whose existence, however, belongs to legend rather than to history.

Legendary also, of course, are the traditions regarding his birth, early youth, and preparation for his high mission. He laughed when born; demons and wizards, the priests of the religion he was destined to overthrow, plotted his destruction, and persecuted him by magic practices. Even his father Pourushaspa is drawn into their conspiracy. But he overcomes all their arts, and until he reaches his thirtieth year spends a life of seclusion and meditation in the deserts and in mountain caves. At the age of thirty revelation comes to him, and he enters upon his public career.

In the year B.C. 630 his visions began. The angel of Good Thought, Vohumanah, summons him to the presence of the Supreme Being, Ahuramazda, where he is instructed in the true religion. The scene of this occurrence is fixed by tradition on the banks of the river Daitya, in Azarbaijan, which has been identified with the modern Kizil uez, a tributary of the Safid river. Seven times in the following years he has conferences with Ahuramazda and the six Amesha Spentas (Pers. Amshaspands) or archangels; but the details of these visions, though interesting in many ways, have no place in a discussion which has for its object to fix definitely, as far as possible, the historical facts in the Prophet's life. They belong rather to the study of the religion which he founded. One convert only

was made in this period, the Prophet's cousin, Maidhyoi Maonha (in Pahlavi Metyomah).

Then apparently followed a time of wandering and unsuccessful preaching of the new religion. The Prophet begins to despair, but an inspiration reaches him, and he sets forth on a journey, which was to bring him permanent success, to the Court of the powerful King Kai Vishtaspa (Pers. Gushtasp) the ruler of Balkh. He meets with the King on the racecourse, a characteristically Persian incident, and then and there proclaims the faith of Ahuramazda, and invites him to believe in it. The King seems at first to have been inclined to comply, but the priests of the established religion, "the deadly Zāk and the rest of the Kigs and Karaps," vehemently oppose the newcomer, and according to one tradition induce the King to imprison him. Another legend relates how he won his liberty by curing a favourite black horse of the King's. He is admitted to a public dispute with the priests, "the controversy about religion with the famous learned of the realm." Eventually Zoroaster is victorious, and the King openly accepts the new faith, and a vision of three of the mighty Amshaspands, or archangels, is vouchsafed to him, which fully confirms him in his belief. Two of the royal counsellors, Frashaoshtra and Jamasp, ally themselves to the Prophet by marriage, and the latter becomes so devoted an adherent that after the Prophet's death he succeeded him as the official Head and Supreme Pontiff of the religion. The King's brother, Zairivairi (Pers. Zarir) and one of his numerous sons, Spentodāta (Pers. Isfandiyār) also become faithful followers.

Under royal and princely patronage the religion spread rapidly all over Iran, and seems even to have extended to neighbouring countries. There are traditions of conversions in Turan (Turkistan generally); of Brahman sages from India, who came to argue and went away converted; even of wise men from Greece coming on a similar errand with similar results. It is even possible that the Prophet himself, after his successes at Court, may have gone on several missionary journeys to the adjacent lands. But his chief care was the founding of Fire temples (Atash-gah), three of which were pre-eminently holy, and their names have been preserved by tradition. The first, Atur Farnbag, or the fire of the priests (Farnbag = Hvarenobagha, "fire of the divine glory"), the site of which is uncertain; the second, Atur gushnasp, the "fire of the warriors," situated on Mount Asnavand on the shores of the Lake of Urumiah; the third, Atur Burzhin mitro, the "fire of the labourers," situated near Tus in Khurasan.

This prosperous time of peace was followed by dark days of religious wars. Concerning all of these wars there is not sufficient information to enable us to construct a connected story. But of the wars with the great enemy of the faith, Arejataspa (Pers. Arjāsp), the Turanian, there is abundant tradition, some part at least of which is probably founded on fact. The date of the outbreak of the first of these wars is now fixed by scholars as B.C. 601. It originated in the refusal by King Vishtasp to continue payment of the tribute hitherto paid to Arjasp, and this refusal appears to have been suggested by the Prophet himself. Religious grounds were thus mixed up with political ones. It was the Faith against the

unbelievers. Arjasp's ultimatum demands, among other things, that Vishtasp shall abandon the new creed. Arjasp is called King of the Khyons, and his kingdom lies beyond the Oxus. More than this is not certainly known, but the whole subject is learnedly and exhaustively discussed in an appendix. In the war which ensues, the scene of which appears to have been round about Merv, the Iranians are victorious chiefly owing to the heroic valour of the King's brother, Zarir, and his son, Isfandiyar, the former of whom, however, falls in battle. Then follows a period of peace, during which the Avesta is written down by Jamasp from the dictation of Zoroaster, and the gallant Prince Isfandiyar carries out "a great crusade in foreign lands," conquering and converting, the sword in one hand and the sacred book of the Avesta in the other.

But treachery, as usual in Eastern Courts, is at work. Isfandiyar had been promised the crown of Iran as the reward of his success, but he is now accused of plotting against his father, and is cast into prison. Then comes the end. Hearing of Isfandiyar's imprisonment the heretic Arjasp collects his forces and invades Iran. Vishtasp was absent on a visit to Seistan. The capital was insufficiently protected, though the aged Lohrasp, father of Vishtasp, who had long ago abdicated and was living in retirement, comes forward to defend it. He falls in battle before the walls of Balkh, the city is taken, eighty priests are massacred in the very act of worship, the sacred fire is extinguished, and, crowning woe of all, the Prophet Zarathushtra himself is slain by an impious Turanian in front of the altar.

The date of this event is fixed at B.C. 583, when the Prophet had reached the age of seventy-seven. The catastrophe in which he was involved, so far from being the death-blow to his religion, gave it fresh life, so true is the saying, "*Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesie.*" Isfandiyar was released from prison, put at the head of a fresh army, routed and utterly destroyed the invaders, pursued them into their own country, where Arjasp was killed and his capital taken. Henceforth the Faith is firmly established as the national creed of Iran.

Such, in the barest outline, is the story of Zoroaster. So much at least may be now taken as solid fact, as well established as most generally accepted facts of ancient history. Much as we may miss the environment of mystery, and regret the ruthless destruction of many a pleasing myth, it is undeniably more practical to begin at least with the probable and the credible. Starting from this solid foundation future labourers may build up an edifice of larger dimensions and more trustworthy construction than was possible before this necessary work of clearing away the rubbish had been accomplished. Not that even in this vivid portrait of the ancient Iranian lawgiver, everything is absolutely certain. On the contrary, it is admitted that many points are still open to doubt, and very much still remains to be worked out. In the present volume there is no attempt at tracing the origin or stages of development of the Mazdayasna religion, no adequate solution of the numerous difficulties raised by the date now accepted for the Prophet's career. We do not know who Vishtasp really was, nor how far he can be identified with the Hystaspes of the Greeks,

or brought into harmony with the chronology of the Achæmenids. Dr. West's valuable labours have cleared up much, but the chronological system of the Bundahishn is so obviously artificial, and even incorrect, that were it not for the invaluable reference to the taking of Babylon by Alexander there would be no safe point of departure for calculation.

There are also many other more technical questions awaiting investigation and settlement. These will more appropriately be included in researches on the religion which Zoroaster founded. It is certainly much to be hoped that the learned Professor, whose firm grasp of facts, and keenly discriminating judgment has made this ancient sage a living reality to us, will ere long follow up this volume with another, in which he will go through the whole range of surviving Zoroastrian literature—Gáthas, Yasna, Visparad and Vendidad—and bring to bear on the religion which they teach the same lucid clearness of exposition that he has so admirably devoted to the life of its founder.

THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ROME.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists was held in Rome from October 3 to 15 last, the climate of the capital of Italy being such as to render it necessary to delay by a month the date of its usual assembly. It brought together a very large number of members, Orientalists by profession, others interested in Oriental research. The Italians received them with their usual politeness and kindness, and the organizing committee neglected nothing to make their visit as agreeable and interesting as possible. Count de Gubernatis, the president of the organizing committee, placed all his time with the utmost cordiality at the service of the foreign scholars who had assembled. The municipality of Rome, the Ministries of Public Instruction and of Foreign Affairs, the Press, the municipality of Tivoli, vied with the organizing committee in their reception and cordial welcome. The Vatican alone abstained, and gave the Congress the cold shoulder, and hence surprisingly few Roman Catholic clergymen were to be found among its members. It pretended to see in the Congress in Rome a liberal, anti-clerical, and political manifestation. It is true that the King of Italy had given it his patronage, which was sufficient for the Vatican to take dislike to it.

Indeed, politics were attempted, though without success, to be introduced, and I believe that this is the first time that it has been tried to transform Orientalists assembled in session into politicians. The Roumanians, who were numerous, during several meetings, wished, by votes of a political character, to influence the Congress in favour of their country. The Congress, although favourably disposed towards Roumania, declined, and thus may be congratulated on their wise decision.

It is to be regretted that several subjects foreign to Orientalism had also a large share in its deliberations. This happened repeatedly in the section of the History of Religion, and in that of Greece-Orient and Orient-America. It even went so far as making a proposition in favour of the unification of the calendars now in use. This motion, very legitimate in its way, and which cannot be too much commended, obviously did not come within the province of the Congress.

The Congress was divided into twelve sections and sub-sections:

- (1) *General Indo-European Linguistics and Paleo-Italic Languages*;
- (2) *Geography and Ethnography of the East*;
- (3) *History of Religions and Folklore in connection with the East*;
- (4) *China and Japan*;
- (5) *Burma, Indo-China and Malay*;
- (6) *India and Persia*;
- (7) *Central Asia*;
- (8) *Semitic Languages and Literature*;
- (9) *Mussulman Literature, History, Civilization*;
- (10) *Egyptology and African Languages*;
- (11) *Greece and the Orient*;
- (12) *America and the Orient*.

From this very extensive programme it will be seen that it is impossible for me to give a full account of the work of *all* sections. I will pay special

attention to the Semitic portion, and will give only a summary of the others.* Before beginning, I may say that there has been much valuable work done, of which I shall point out the most important, apologizing to those of my colleagues whose labours I am unable to specify.

SEMITIC SECTION.

Professor Guidi made a communication on a Syriac history ending about the year 1233; also on a history of King Claude of Abyssinia (1540-59).—Mr. Gaster read an interesting paper on the magical alphabets of the Cabala.—Professor Goldziher gave a lecture on a work by Brönnle entitled "Ali Ibn Hamza and his Criticisms on famous Arabic Philologists."—Mr. Seybold gave a report of his Spanish-Arabic studies, and of the edition of the large "Glossarium Latino-Arabicum" of Leyden, the printing of which will shortly be completed. He proposed the compilation of a grand "Thesaurus Arabico-Latino-Hispanicus."—Professor Goldziher also made a second communication on the chu'ubite movement in Spain.—Mr. Jastrow read a paper on the name of Samuel (from the Assyrian *schumu* = descendant; Samuel = descendant of El) and the root *sha'al*.—Dr. Ginsburg discoursed on the Hebraic abbreviations with respect to a Sephardic Bible issued from the Geniza of Cairo, and entirely written in abridgment.—Mr. Lasinio made a communication on the Oriental manuscripts in the Italian libraries.—Muhammad Sherif Salim introduced an apologetical work on the future of the Arabic language.—Professor Goldziher read a report on the scheme for a Mussulman encyclopedia, a project which originated at the last Congress of Paris. The result of the project is that since 1897 the matter has made little or no advance. Professor Houtsma of Leyden has been entrusted with the editorship of the encyclopædia. The committee will take steps with the Governments interested in it, and the learned societies, in order to obtain their pecuniary co-operation, which is indispensable.—Mr. Westermarck described the worship of saints in Morocco.—Dr. Haupt made a communication on the sanitary basis of the Mosaic ritual, which called forth an observation from Mr. Bulmerincq regarding the fact that the ritual precepts of Leviticus and Deuteronomy have their basis on a religious order.—Rabbi Gollancz read a memoir entitled, "Specimens of Charms from Syriac MSS."—Mr. Israel Levy discussed some Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus, and maintained the thesis of the Syriac origin of these fragments.†—Professor Euting describes and translates an Aramaic papyrus of the Strasbourg library, dated (a curious fact) the 14th year of Darius.—Professor Merx made a communication on the age of the Targum of the Song of Solomon, of which Origen expounded the system of allegorical interpretation; the Targum would thus be anterior to the seventh century.—Professor Hommel spoke of the goddess *Ashera* (*Athirat*) in the inscriptions of Southern Arabia.—Mr.

* We shall not refer under a special heading to the history of religions, which has been discussed in every section. We shall point out more especially in this regard the communication of J. Reville on the Congress of the History of Religions which should meet in Paris this year.

† See our Quarterly Report in this number.

Johansson read a memoir on the *Habiri* of letters from Tell-el-Amarna. The *Habiri* are certainly not Hebrews, as it has been asserted, but the Sagas mentioned in the same documents.*

On the motion of Dr. Kantzsch the Semitic section unanimously protested against the absurd accusation brought against the Jews of the use of Christian blood for ritual purposes, an accusation unworthy of the end of the nineteenth century.

OTHER SECTIONS.

India and Persia.—Professor Deussen presented a paper on the history of the philosophy of the Upanishads.—Professor Hardy read a memoir on two books treating of the piety of Buddhism.—Mr. Jackson explained the plan and method of his dictionary of the Avesta, which he is preparing with the assistance of Mr. Geldner.—Count Pullé made a communication on the cartography of India.—Mr. Macauliffe spoke of the life and writings of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru of the Sikhs.†—Professor Leumann treated of the legend of Brahmadata.—Mr. Gerson da Hunha read a memoir on the Rama-tankas.—Miss Plunkett read a paper on astronomy in the Vedas.—Mr. Hewitt read a memoir entitled, "History of the Ark or Ship of the Gods, its astronomical origin, and later forms."—Dr. Hoernle communicated a memoir on an exhibition of the British collection of Central Asian antiquities (manuscripts, xylographs, etc.).—Mr. Radloff gave a short account of his work on the manuscripts, books and inscriptions discovered by the Clementz expedition in Tourfan.

Several votes or resolutions were carried by the section: On the expediency of a translation of the sacred books of the Sikhs, on the realization of the project for a Sanscrit-Chinese dictionary by Takakusu and Buniyu Nanjio, on the publication of an edition of the Mahabharata in the recension of the South (Sanskrit Epic Society), and, finally, on the critical study and thorough examination of Jainism.

Egyptology and African Languages.—Mr. Borchardt read a memoir on the papyrus found at Kahun last winter.—Mr. Virey made a communication on some words of the text of Menephtah relating to the people of Canaan and the Israelites. The sentence respecting Israel should be thus translated, according to the author, "Israel is rooted up, there is no more corn in it [Egypt]," which confirms the date of the exodus under Menephtah.—Dr. Gregorio read a paper on the *Ewe* language (Togo region, West Africa).—Mr. Revillout presented a memoir on the legal state of the

* I myself presented to the Semitic section two memoirs—one on the first origin of the people of Israel, and the other on a medal bearing a Hebrew inscription and the image of Jesus. The ironical inscription of the medal (Italian), of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, is, to our mind, the work of a humanist, sceptical as regards the Christian faith; the Hebrew is also too peculiar to be the work of an Israelite.

† "Mr. Macauliffe, after many years of preliminary labour, retired from a high official position to study and translate the Sikh Scriptures in collaboration with the chief native scholars of the Punjab, and his rendering has been examined by them verse by verse. The result is to place one of the most interesting and, for military purposes, the most important development of Hinduism in a new light. A vote was passed expressing the hope that means would be found to secure the publication of this large and valuable contribution to Oriental scholarship."—Special Correspondent *Times*, October 16, 1899.

Nemhu serfs in contradistinction to the nobles at different periods of Egyptian authority.—Mr. Schmidt made a communication on the wrappings of Egyptian mummies.—Mr. Guimet showed a curious list of objects recently discovered (timbrels and sacerdotal ornaments of a priest of Nimes), Egyptian objects found in France in Roman tombs.—Professor Schiaparelli discoursed on papyri of the Egyptian museum of Turin.—Mr. Erman gave an account of the Egyptian dictionary published by the Academy of Berlin.—Mr. Botti made a communication on the Pharaonic monuments of Alexandria and its environs.—Professor Haupt read a work entitled "The Mitanian wives of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV."—Professor Naville read a paper on the Karnac texts concerning Queen Hatasu.—Mr. Schmidt spoke on Pharaoh Petibast of the demotic papyrus of Vienna.—Professor Schiaparelli showed a picture representing a Coptic textile fabric of the Turin Museum. On this tissue is represented a fair-faced and fair-haired person of the type of the Ababdeh, descendants of the Blemmyes (a unique example of the appearance of those formidable invaders).

Central Asia.—Mr. Kunos communicated a work on the modern literature of the Osmanli Turks.—Professor Vambery spoke of the ancient language of the Osmanlis.—Mr. Balint discoursed on the origin of the Circassians, who are the descendants of the nobility of the Huns.—Mr. Huth spoke of the results of his journey among the Tunguses of the Yenisei.

China, Japan, and Australasia.—Mr. Kumazo Tsuboi read a paper on a book of geography and ethnography, entitled *Lingwai-taita*.—Mr. Chevalier lectured on Korean head-dresses.—Professor Marre gave a list of Portuguese words adopted in the Malay language and the terms showing the several styles of poetry, terms which the Malays have borrowed from the Arabs.—Mr. Hoffmann explained a new theory of the invention of ciphers, which are not of Hindu-Arabic origin, but really derivatives of the nine Chinese characters representing units.—A very long discussion, which had no practical result, took place on the elaboration of a uniform system of transcribing Chinese characters. The section closed with a resolution carried by a majority that *each* country should fix upon a uniform and official system of transcription.

Geography and Ethnography of the East.—Mr. Urechia made a communication on the ethnographical chart of Europe, and especially of the European Orient.—Mr. Sergi spoke of the origin of alphabetical writing, showing that the Phœnicians could not have invented the letters of the alphabet, but that they merely simplified the characters known in the basin of the Mediterranean before their appearance in history (alphabetical signs of the dolmens in France; pebbles, coloured with signs analogous to those of the grotto of Mas at Azil, etc.).

Greece and the Orient.—Mr. Krumbacher reported on the progress made in Byzantine studies since the last Congress.—Mr. Strzygowski drew attention to some miniatures in a Vatican MS. illustrating a Byzantine ceremony—the reception given to a *fiancé*. These kinds of illustrations are extremely rare.—Mr. Furtwaengler spoke of the relationship between Grecian archaic and Oriental art.—Mr. Gauckler explained the results of some

excavations that he had made at Dermach, in the centre of old Carthage, in a Byzantine basilica of the sixth century.—Mr. Botti spoke of some works in Egypt on the topography of Alexandria, and excavations made in that town.

America and the Orient.—The problem of the Asiatic origin of the Indians has been broached by several learned men. Mr. Sergi has explained his idea of American anthropology (Asiatic, Melanesian and Negritic types); there were two tides of immigration (Asiatic and Oceanic).—Mr. Del Paso y Troncoso presented a paper on the phonology of the Mexican language; the author is of opinion that the Mexicans came from the shores of the Pacific.*—Mr. Grossi read a paper on the zoological mythology of the Indians of the Amazon, and also one on the language of the Fuegians; he finally explained the arguments, which he considered weak, that were brought forward in favour of the Asiatic origin of the Indians. The same scholar also made a communication about the pyramids and *teocalli* of the Indians and the mummies of the Old and New Worlds. These various communications, generally, became the subject of lively discussions; this section, being few in numbers, only represented the South (Europe and America).† Many views were expressed in this section regarding the development in Italy of American research (viz., the foundation in Rome of a museum, an American library, and an *Italo-American Society*).

The above is, I may say, but a very short and imperfect summary of the learning and activity of the Congress. One can see that its labours were great. If many of the subjects treated belonged to some special points of Oriental learning, it must be acknowledged that subjects of a general order have also been discussed. As I stated, in addressing the inaugural meeting on the part of the Swiss Universities, it is in this spirit that future Congresses should labour if they wish to maintain their *locus standi* and to perpetuate their existence; for it is quite evident that strictly learned gatherings should address themselves to the study of the great problems which constitute the very essence of scientific investigations.‡

At the final sitting it was decided that the next Congress should meet at Hamburg in two years' time.

* The same scholar entertained the section with the proceedings adopted by the first missionaries in Mexico to inculcate the Divine truths.

† I myself lectured in this section on some of the ethnographical and linguistic relations existing between the Orient and South America (Brazil and Argentina).

‡ Whilst the Congress was proceeding some excavations which were being made in the Forum led to the discovery of a broken stela, bearing an inscription in archaic characters (query Latin or Etruscan). Several hypotheses have already been expressed. We saw the monument when still in the soil from which it was unearthed, surrounded, or, rather, buried, under the rubbish, and could only examine it by the light of a smoky torch. The letters on the stela struck one as resembling the Phœnician. I shall have something more to say on this subject at a future date, and also regarding the Oriental inscriptions which I have noticed in the old towns of Phœnician origin during my journey through the South of France whilst on my way to the Congress in Rome.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

SINCE our last report the three last volumes of the "Transactions of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists," which was held in Paris in 1897, have appeared.* They contain papers on the languages and the archæology of Aryan and Mussulman countries, on Egypt and the languages of Africa, on Orient-Greece and Byzance, and also on the ethnography and folklore of the East. We need not dwell again on the interesting contents of these papers, with which we presented the readers of this Review in 1897, in the special report which we then submitted of the Paris Congress.†

The last parts (14-18) of the "Recueil d'archéologie orientale" (Vol. III.), by Clermont-Ganneau,‡ which have appeared, include several interesting studies, and among others there is one about Palestine at the beginning of the sixth century, according to the Syriac treatise entitled "Les Plérophories," of a certain Jean Rufus, Bishop of Maioumas. This treatise, written about 512-518, is contained in a manuscript of the ninth century in the British Museum. We have to announce some further accounts of Gezer and its environs, Gath and Gath-Rimmon.

Noeldeke has published a second edition, corrected and improved, of his excellent sketch of Semitic languages,§ the first edition of which appeared in 1887. We recommend this work to those desirous of forming an idea of this important branch of languages.

The most remarkable work in general which we have to announce in the present report has been published in England; it is the first volume of the "Encyclopædia Biblica," a critical dictionary of the literary, political and religious history, the archæology, geography, and natural history of the Bible, edited by Cheyne and Sutherland Black.|| Among the contributors we notice the names of Addis, Tiele, Charles, Noeldeke, Moore, Bevan, Driver, Marti, Benzinger, etc. These names suffice to show the strictly scientific character and value of the work. As far as it is possible to judge from this first volume (letters A—D), the publication appears to be much more independent from a dogmatic point of view than the "Dictionary of the Bible" edited by Hastings, which we brought to our readers' notice in our last report. We cannot but congratulate the authors of the "Encyclopædia Biblica" on the method in which the work has been conceived and drawn up; it is remarkable for its clearness and preciseness;

* Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1897.

‡ Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

§ "Die semitischen Sprachen." Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1899.

|| London, A. and C. Black, 1899.

the articles are, as a rule, short or of a moderate length in proportion to the importance of the matter treated of. The subject is divided into paragraphs, each having a heading in large type; nothing could be more practical, or more handy for the reader. The maps and engravings (too few in number) are extremely well done. Particularly interesting are the articles on "Amos," "Apocalypse," "Apocalyptic Literature," "Apocrypha," "Aram," "Baruch," "Canon," "Canticles," "Chronology," etc. The article on the "Acts of the Apostles" does not sufficiently take into account the labours of the School of Baur, and does not render them justice; it is this school alone that has explained the particular character of this Biblical volume. The article "Asherah" concludes with the obscurity of the etymology and meaning of the word, and it is quite undecided on the character of this emblem. The author, however, should have been able to be more precise, considering the facts that we are possessed of for solving this problem. We have other remarks, but they would take too long; suffice it to say that the work is an excellent one, and that we shall look forward with impatience for the continuation.

OLD TESTAMENT.—HISTORY OF THE NATION AND RELIGION OF
ISRAEL.

The most curious publication we have to point out is perhaps the "Bible Polyglotte" of the Abbé Vigouroux, of which two volumes, including Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, are on sale.* The print of the original texts and the maps and figures are remarkable; and what deserves equally to be commended is the cheapness of the edition. The Hebrew is published from the (uncorrected) Masoretic text, the Greek (Vatican MS.) from the Sistine edition of Rome, 1587; to which must be added the Vulgate and the French translation by Glaire. The disparities between the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate are carefully shown; several introductions and notes accompany each volume. The archæological annotations, illustrated by figures copied from monuments, are the best parts of the work. As to the scientific character of the publication, one may judge from the following lines, which we have copied from the introduction to the Pentateuch: "Both the Jews and the Christians have always believed that Moses was the author of the five books of the Pentateuch. The authenticity of the Pentateuch is confirmed by the archaisms and expressions which are characteristic of it. The books of Moses possess an old appearance produced by words and forms which have since become obsolete, as well as by the poetical character of its prose and the powerful originality of its poetry. These archaisms, moreover, are not met with in the Book of Joshua. The Pentateuch, besides, does not contain any foreign words other than Egyptian. All this proves that it was written during the time of the exodus, and that it is the work of Moses, as the Jewish and Christian traditions have always taught." This work will have the advantage of propagating amongst Roman Catholics a knowledge of the original texts of the Bible.

Two volumes have appeared of the series of "The Sacred Books of the

* Paris, Roger et Chernoviz, 1899.

Old Testament printed in Colours," by Haupt* : Ezekiel by Toy, and Isaiah by Cheyne. These are the critical editions of the Hebrew to be recommended. The work of Cheyne, in which the various parts of Isaiah by different authors are indicated by a great variety of delicate tints, which the eye does not always clearly distinguish, is, above all, remarkable for the numerous critical notes which accompany the text. We may point out in this connection an interesting pamphlet by Littmann† on the epoch of Tritojesaia (Isaiah lvi.-lxvi.), which he fixes between 457 and 445; the text of Ezekiel, annotated by Toy, is also a good work, and in which one is pleased to read a Hebrew text *in black*, without any addition of colours!

Wellhausen has published in a third edition‡ his well-known dissertations on the Hexateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament which appeared in 1876-77 in the "Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie," and in the fourth edition (1878) of the Introduction to the Old Testament by Bleek. These important re-edited works are accompanied by about 70 pages of fresh notes (Nachträge).

Amongst the commentaries that have recently appeared, we specially desire to draw attention to that of Bertholet on Deuteronomy, in Marti's series.§ We finally note the edition by Prætorius of "Targum zum Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung."||

The publication of "Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments," by Kautzsch (Parts 19-28),¶ especially the last numbers, is particularly interesting; these numbers include, amongst others, the Song of Solomon, the Sibylline Oracles, of Jewish origin, Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the 4th Esdras. We do not hesitate to say that Kautzsch's much-annotated translation will be of great service to the religious public and to specialists.

"Ecclesiasticus" continues to attract the attention of scholars. The Hebrew fragments have been published, criticised, commented on, and translated in a remarkable manner by Schechter and Taylor,** and have been the subject of a very interesting and very original treatise by Israel Lévy.†† This last author bases his arguments on the peculiarities of the Hebrew fragments in the alphabetical acrostic of the original LI. 13-20. Of the two different translations, which certain verses present, one certainly, according to the Syriac, concludes with the original Syriac of Ecclesiasticus, or, to be more exact: *the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus are only a retranslation into Hebrew of a Syriac version.*

The history of the people and religion of Israel has given rise to the publication of three works worthy of being noticed.

* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

† "Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

‡ "Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des A. T." Berlin, Reimer, 1899.

§ Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

|| Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1899.

¶ Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1889.

** "The Wisdom of Ben Sira, etc." Cambridge University Press, 1899.

†† *Revue des Etudes juives*, July-September, 1899.

The first is a short summary of the history of Israel by Guthe,* giving in a clear and concise work the history of Jerusalem from its origin to its transformation in *Ælia Capitolina*. The second is called "A History of the Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods," by C. Foster Kent,† an excellent popular scientific work. Finally, the third, and most important, is a remarkable production by Budde on the religion of Israel from the commencement to the exile.‡

In the Talmudic world we have before us the treatise "Erubin" of the Talmud of Babylon (German text and translation), by L. Goldschmidt,§ and a critical history of translations of the Talmud, which is very useful for understanding this encyclopædia of Judaism, by Bischoff.||

In conclusion, we cite a publication by F. v. Landau, which is a collection of all the known Phœnician inscriptions. The text is transcribed into Latin characters and translated.¶

ARABIC LITERATURE.

In the vast domain of vulgar Arabic, the study of which is constantly increasing, we have quite a series of interesting works to announce.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (May-August, 1899), Sonneck has published six songs in the Maghriban dialect. These popular songs are very curious, particularly the third, in which are found all the elements of the classical *Qasida*: invocation to friends, picture of the loved woman, description of the horse, etc.

In the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (XXII. 1, 2, 1899), which includes several works by the late lamented Socin, there is also to be found, by this eminent Orientalist, a very instructive list of names of appellative places; this list comprises a considerable number of words from *ab* to *zumle* with the Arabic text, transcription, translation and notes.

Lüderitz, in the *Mittheilungen des Seminars für oriental. Sprachen* of Berlin (II. 2, 1899), gives, and comments on, an important collection of Moroccan proverbs collected at Tangier and Casablanca. As it may be observed, Morocco more and more attracts the attention of scholars—and rightly so, Morocco being one of those parts of the Arabic world still comparatively unknown.

The *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (XXI. 3, 1899) continues the publication by L. Bauer of the Palestinian Arabic proverbs.

The "Récession égyptienne des Mille et une nuits"*** has been the subject of some original researches by V. Chauvin. In the Egyptian portion of the "Thousand and One Nights" the eminent Liège professor takes notice of a very original and clever author who has written some small novels, which he has probably published separately, and of another writer,

* "Geschichte des Volkes Israel." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

† London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1899.

‡ "Die Religion des Volkes Israel bis zur Verbannung." Giessen, Ricker, 1900.

§ Berlin, Calvary, 1899.

|| "Kritische Geschichte der Thalmud-Uebersetzungen aller Zeiten und Zungen." Frankfurt-a-M., Kauffmann, 1899.

¶ "Die phœn. Inschriften." Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1899.

*** Brussels, 1899.

also Egyptian, void of all talent, who has composed and reviewed much fiction, probably on the occasion of a new edition of the collection of the "Thousand and One Nights." This second author is probably a Jew who has been converted to Islam, possibly the pseudo-Maïmonide. We earnestly recommend the perusal of Chauvin's work to all those who are interested in popular Arabic literature.

There is another *étude* by the same author on the legitimate use of water amongst the Arabs,* a work, like all the publications of Chauvin, very replete with notes.

In the *Bulletin de la société de géographie et d'archéologie de la province d'Oran* (Vol. XIX., Part 80),† E. Doutté has given a very good and methodical work on the Djebala of Morocco after the grand work of Mouliéras, which we referred to in our last July's report. Those who do not possess Mouliéras' book could consult with advantage the lengthy work of Doutté.‡

The same author, under the title of "Mahomet Cardinal,"§ has published a good monograph on the story of Muhammad in the Middle Ages.

We shall close this brief review of Islam by pointing out, according to the *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* (XIV. 9, Berlin, 1899), the statistics of the Mussulman people which appeared in America,|| and which gives the total number of the followers of Muhammad at 196,500,000. This is very nearly the total we gave lately in a note on the statistics of the principal religions. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1899, p. 140.)¶

* Liège, Vaillant-Carmanne, 1899.

† Oran, Fouque, 1899.

‡ *Compte du même auteur*: "Le Far-West Africain" (Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, Paris, 15 août, 1899).

§ Chalons-sur-Marne, 1899.

|| *Zwemer* (missionary in Bahrein, Arabia): "The Mohammedan World of To-day" (New York, 1899, Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America).

¶ "Almanach protestant genevois" (Geneva, Drehmann, 1900). In this publication the number of Christians (Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants) is given as 486 millions—of Jews, 8 millions; Muhammadans, 200 millions; Confucians, about 300 millions; and Buddhists and Hindus, 500 millions (100 millions of Buddhists, properly speaking). It is to be noted that Confucianism, being entirely foreign and official, does not exclude the simultaneous profession of another practical religion. Thus, it happens that many Confucians are either Buddhists or Mussulmans. There is therefore in our statistics a *useless repetition*, and if there is added to the stated amounts 300 millions of other polytheists, a total of 1,794,000,000 is reached, whereas the population of the world as generally assigned to it, probably under-estimated, is 1,500,000,000.

TWENTY-FOURTH REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XLIV.—THE SATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA. TRANSLATED
 BY JULIUS EGGELING.

PART V., BOOKS XI., XII., XIII., AND XIV.

THE portion of the work contained in this volume forms practically a continuation of the first five *kāṇḍas*, the intervening five books being devoted to the consideration of the Agnikāyana, or construction of the sacred brick-altar, which had come to be recognised as an important preliminary to the Soma-sacrifice. The circumstances which seem to have led to this somewhat peculiar distribution of the different sections of the work was explained in the introduction to the first volume of the translation. As was there shown, the inclusion of the Agnikāyana in the sacrificial system of the Vāgasaneyins, or theologians of the White Yagur, appears to have resulted in a definite settlement of the sacrificial texts of the ordinary ritual, as contained in the first eighteen *adhyāyas* of the Vāgasaneyisaṃhitā, as well as of the dogmatic explanation of that ritual given in the first nine *kāṇḍas* of the Satapathabrāhmaṇa. Considerable portions of the remaining sections of both works may have been, and very likely were, already in existence at the time of that settlement, but, being excluded from the regular ceremonial, they were naturally more liable to subsequent modifications and additions than those earlier sections which remained in constant use. Whilst the tenth *kāṇḍa*, included in the preceding volume of the translation, consisted of speculations on the sacred fire-altar, as representing Puruṣa-Pragāpati, and the divine body of the Sacrificer—whence that book is called the Agnirahasya, or mystery of the fire-altar—the present volume contains the supplementary sections connected with the sacrificial ceremonial proper.

The eleventh and twelfth *kāṇḍas* are mainly taken up with additional remarks and directions on most of the sacrifices treated of in the first four *kāṇḍas*, especially with expiatory ceremonies and oblations in cases of mishaps or mistakes occurring during the performance, or with esoteric speculations regarding the significance and mystic effect of certain rites. In this way the eleventh book deals with the New and Full-moon sacrifices; the Seasonal Offerings (XI., 5, 2), the Agnihotra (XI., 5, 3; 6, 2), the Soma-sacrifice (XI., 5, 5; 9), and the Animal-sacrifice (XI., 7, 2-8, 4); whilst the twelfth *kāṇḍa* treats of the "Gavām ayanam"—or most common sacrificial session lasting for a year, thus offering a convenient subject for dilating upon the nature of Pragāpati, as the Year, or Father Time—of additional expiatory rites for Soma-sacrifices (XII., 6), and of the Sautrāmaṇī, consisting of oblations of milk

and spirituous liquor, supposed to obviate or remove the unpleasant effects of excesses in the consumption of Soma-juice (XII, 7-9). Though supplementary notes and speculations on such ceremonial topics cannot but be of a somewhat desultory and heterogeneous character, they nevertheless offer welcome opportunities for the introduction of much valuable and interesting matter. It is here that we find the famous myth of Purūravas and Urvasī (XI, 5, 1); and that of Bhṛigu, the son of Varuṇa, vividly illustrating the notions prevalent at the time regarding retribution after death (XI, 6, 1); as also the important cosmogonic legend of the golden egg from which Prajāpati is born at the beginning of the evolution of the universe (XI, 1, 6). Of considerable interest also are the chapters treating of the way in which the dead body of the pious performer of the Agnihotra, or daily milk-offering, is to be dealt with (XII, 5, 1-2); of the initiation and the duties of the Brāhmanical student (XI, 3, 3; 5, 4); and last, not least, of the study of the Vedas (XI, 5, 6-7) and their subsidiary texts, amongst which we meet, for the first time, with the Atharvāṅgiras as a special collection of texts recommended for systematic study. With the commencement of the thirteenth *kāṇḍa*, we enter once more upon a regular exposition of a series of great sacrifices like those discussed in the early books, the first and most important of them being the *Asvamedha*, or Horse-sacrifice. Like the *Rāgasūya*, or inauguration of a king, the *Asvamedha* is not a mere sacrifice or series of offerings, but it is rather a great State function in which the religious and sacrificial element is closely and deftly interwoven with a varied programme of secular ceremonies. But whilst the *Rāgasūya* was a State ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled, the *Asvamedha*, on the contrary, involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation; and its celebration must therefore have been an event of comparatively rare occurrence. Perhaps, indeed, it is owing to this exceptional character of the *Asvamedha* rather than to the later origin of its ritual and dogmatic treatment that this ceremony was separated from the *Rāgasūya*, which one would naturally have expected it to succeed. It is worthy of remark, in this respect, that, in Kātyāyana's *Anukramaṇī* to the *Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā*, the term "*khila*," or supplement, is not applied to the *Asvamedha* section (Adhy. XXII-XXV.), while the subsequent sections are distinctly characterized as such. As a matter of fact, however, the *Asvamedha* has received a very unequal treatment in the different rituals. Of the two recensions of the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Rīg-veda* priests, the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* takes no account whatever of the Horse-sacrifice, whilst its last two books (VII, VIII)—generally regarded as a later supplement, though probably already attached to the work in Pāṇini's time—are mainly taken up with the discussion of the *Rāgasūya*. The *Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa*, on the other hand, passes over both ceremonies, their explanation being only supplied by the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, along with that of some other sacrifices, in two of its chapters (15 and 16), composed in *Brāhmaṇa* style, and said to be extracted from the *Mahā-Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa*. In the principal Brāh-

mana of the Sâman priests, the *Pañkavimsa-brâhmana*, the *Asvamedha* as a *trirâtra*, or triduum, is dealt with in its proper place (XXI., 4), among the *Ahinas*, or several days' performances. As regards the Black Yagus, both the *Kâtaka*, and the *Maitrâyanî-samhitâ* give merely the mantras of the *Asvamedha*, to which they assign pretty much the same place in the ritual as is done in the White Yagus. In the *Taittiriya-samhitâ*, on the other hand, the mantras are scattered piecemeal over the last four *kândas*; whilst, with the exception of a short introductory *vidhi* passage, likewise given in the *Samhitâ* (V., 3, 12), the whole of the exegetic matter connected with this ceremony is contained in a continuous form, in the *Taittiriya-brâhmana* (VIII. and IX). This vol. also contains index to Parts III., IV. and V. (Vols. XLI., XLIII. and XLIV.).

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THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE first mention in orthodox Chinese history of any place that we are justified in identifying with Sumatra is found in the Records of the Liang dynasty, which cover the period 502-556: the materials for this history were not put together until 629. The northern half of China had been for more than a century in the exclusive hands of Tartar rulers, whilst the purely Chinese dynasties of Sung, Ts'i, and Liang had governed the southern portions, with their capital at the modern Nanking: the founder of the last-named was a very ardent Buddhist.

The Liang Records mention that in the first year of this founder's reign there appeared an envoy from an island country in the south seas, by name Kant'oli. This envoy came with a story to the effect that his master Gāutama Subhadra, the King of Kant'oli, had been informed by a priest in a vision "that a very sacred monarch was now beginning his reign in China; that the prospects of Buddhistic propaganda were now fairly roseate; and that in the interests of trade and prosperity the said King ought to send an envoy with tribute." The King was a skilful artist, and had sent by his envoy a picture of the Emperor such as he had conceived him to be from what he saw in the vision: this portrait was found by the courtiers to be marvellously correct, but this coincidence did not prevent the Emperor from having a genuine one made for return to Subhadra, who died, and was succeeded by his son Vyâ (or Vijaya) Brahmâ in the year 518. Two years later a second envoy succeeded the one who brought news of Gāutama Subhadra's death, and there the matter ends once for all. Kant'oli disappears into space.

In relating the above facts, the Liang Records incidentally mention that, somewhere between 454 and 464, the King Srt Bāla Nalandā of Kant'oli had sent a present of gold

and silver utensils to the Sung dynasty; but I do not find this recorded in the Sung Annals. I may possibly discover a stray allusion some other time. In describing the country, the Liang Records say absolutely nothing beyond that the manners and customs are somewhat like those of the (then) two leading states of the Indo-Chinese peninsula corresponding with mediæval Cambodia and Ciampa, and that the chief productions are calicoes of check patterns, *karpasa* (*i.e.*, cotton, at that time only known in China by its Sanskrit name), and the very best quality of betel-nuts.

It is evident that Kandâri (for that seems to be the sound intended) was then, as Cambodia and Ciampa are well known to have been, a state ruled by emigrants from India, and the King's fulsome letter, given in full by the Liang Records, reeks of Hindoo Buddhism and hyperbole. But the only ground we have for identifying it with any part of Sumatra is the positive but laconic statement of the Ming History, dealing with Palembang of 1370, then known by its Arab name of Sarbaza. "Its ancient name was Kant'oli." On the other hand, Kollewijn tells us that the Hindoo colonies in Java only extended themselves to Sumatra in the fourteenth century. There seems to be no official mention whatever of Kandâri between the years 520 and 1370, except that a celebrated anti-Buddhist statesman, Han Yü, exiled to serve at the modern Swatow as penance for his iconoclastic zeal, mentions in a private letter, dated about 820, the fact that "Ciampa, Cambodia, and Kandâri are amongst the countless states beyond the seas." The distinguished Russian botanical authority, Dr. Bretschneider, has also found an allusion during the seventh century to a Chinese medical work treating of certain Kandâri cures or drugs.

Fa Hien, the first Chinese pilgrim who (about A.D. 414) reported first-hand upon India, sailed from Ceylon to Java through the Straits of Sunda without touching in Sumatra; and although later pilgrims visited on their way home places which the industrious French sinologist, M. Chavannes,

identifies with the modern Singapore and Sarbaza, yet none of these men make the faintest allusion to Kandâri. The Çri-Bhôja and the Bhôja of these priests I take to be (as M. Chavannes suggests) the Arab Zabedj, which, again, I suppose is simply another form of Sarbaza.

* * * * *

The second stage of Sumatra's history may be described as the Arab epoch, when the Hindoo dynasties of the Malay Peninsula gradually fell under Moslem influence. The Records of the second Sung dynasty cover the period 960-1260, and were put together about 1300. They record that, in the year 904 (when a period of Turkish anarchy, which lasted till 960, ushered out the T'ang dynasty), an envoy from San-foh-ts'i brought tribute, and was rewarded with a Chinese military title: from the context it seems that this man posed as a sort of superintendent of trade for all foreign merchants coming by sea.

As soon as the capable Sung dynasty had firm possession of all China, the King of Sarbaza (which the Dutch sinologist, Mr. Groeneveldt, has clearly shown to be meant by San-foh-ts'i) hastened to send tribute, and embassies to the Chinese Court followed each other every year or two up to 990, when the envoy's movements were stopped by an aggressive war waged by Java. Between 1003 and 1028 there were four missions. The Arab influence is perceived by the occasional use of such words as *Hadji* or *Mohammed* in connection with the names of envoys or even of Kings; but the nominal rulers were evidently still Hindoos or Malays, for almost each one has either the syllable *Srî* or the word *Dêva* attached to his appellation; and it is also mentioned that a Buddhist temple had been obsequiously erected in Sarbaza in order to pray for the Emperor's long life. The King used his finger-ring as a seal—a point of significance by the light of later statements.

There is a gap between 1028 and 1077, after which things go on steadily till 1097, when Sri Mahârâjâ sends presents. After 1178, when the mission was detained a

"Zaitun," and not allowed to visit the capital, nothing more is heard. I may state here with reference to Marco Polo's Zaitun, a place variously identified with Chang-chou Fu and Ts'üan-chou Fu, that in 957 the Sarbaza envoy who visited the Chinese capital in 960 is stated by the annals of Chang-chou, as cited by Mr. George Phillips, to have built a temple there; on the other hand, in 1178, the Sarbaza envoy was lodged at Ts'üan-chou. The late Mr. Phillips seems to have made it the hobby of his life to prove that Chang-chou alone was Zaitun: I regard the question as still *sub judice*.

There is no doubt whatever about Sarbaza being Palembang—at least, in so far that the chief mart of Sarbaza was actually or approximately the modern Palembang; but it is interesting to notice a few statements which tend to confirm the bold and unsupported assertion that Sarbaza was the old Kandâri. We are told that Sarbaza "is a neighbour of Ciampa (*i.e.*, the modern Tourane, Hué, etc.), and is situated between Cambodia and Java: it is twenty days' sail with the monsoon from the Canton coast." Its products are stated to be betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, rattan and garu woods, red kino, rice and pulse, but no wheat; various intoxicating sherbets, meads, and fruit wines, but none fermented with yeast. Amongst the things taken to China were "fire-oil" (which doubtless means the modern Sumatra kerosene of commerce), ivory, dates, frankincense; glass-ware and crystal rings; coral-trees, embroidered stuffs, pearls, black slaves, etc. It is plain that most of these things are African or Arabian produce brought by the Arab traders: More especially it is proved that the Arabs of Java and the Indian Ocean generally trafficked largely in African slaves. But it is also certain that the Hindoo element in the population was still strong, for writing is said to have been "in Brahman character," and the people "smear the body with fragrant oils"; moreover, "Brahman *sûtras*" and images of Buddha were brought as presents, whilst "priests' purple clothes" were given in return.

The Chinese have always jumbled up Brahmanism and Buddhism—as, indeed, to a great extent they later confused Buddhism with Nestorianism and Manicheism, and even at times with Mohammedanism. It is probable that the Arab settlement was a mere colony outside the Hindoo capital, exercising political pressure, in the interests of trade, upon the Hindoo administration, much as the Frank powers now do at such places as Tangier. There was an extensive city wall, built of tiles or brick, and the common people dwelt outside it, in huts or houses thatched with cocoa-nut leaves. The Chinese remark that nearly everyone's name seems to begin with the syllable *P'u* or *Bu*. As this syllable does not appear once in Sanskrit connections, and on the other hand does invariably appear in connection with traders from Ciampa or other Indo-Chinese states, it seems likely to be some Arab word, and that foreign relations and sea-trade were entirely in Arab hands. I shall recur to this point when I come to deal with Ciampa. Gold and silver coins, without holes in them, were used in trade, which is another Arab sign. Amongst the tribute articles mentioned which are of manifest local origin are camphor, baroos-camphor, and rhinoceros horns.

* * * * *

Mr. Groeneveldt, who is qualified officially and otherwise to be one of the best authorities upon Sumatra, seems to lie under the impression that the Mongol dynasty, which succeeded the second Sung dynasty just mentioned, had little if anything to do with the northern and eastern parts of Sumatra. But in the very first year of Kublai's uncontested possession of the whole of China (1280) a proposal was made to him by Sotu (the identical "baron" who, according to Marco Polo, had been sent to subdue Ciampa) that "Sarbaz and other eight states should be summoned to do homage as well as Ciampa." Kublai declined, and this appears to be the only mention of Sumatra under that name during Mongol times.

But the Mongol Records of 1282 state that in that year

the Minister of Sumutala state, when visiting Quilon on business, met the Chinese envoy there; heard of Kublai's commands, and, on behalf of his master, Takur, sent envoys to submit an address, and to offer presents of a ring, some check-pattern silk or piece-goods, and some embroidered quilts. The Chinese envoy on his way home called at Sumutula, and persuaded the lord of the state, Tuan Pati, to send to China two envoys named Hassan and Suleiman. In 1284 the Fuh Kien Government (*i.e.*, "Zaitun") sent an officer "to summon Nan-wu-li and three other states to do homage." It is quite certain that Lambri is here meant, as will shortly be shown. In 1285 Sumutula sends an envoy to the Chinese Court; and in 1286 both Sumutula and Nan-wu-lih send envoys. In another part of the Mongol records it is said that Süménna and Nan-wu-lih sent envoys in 1286. Owing to the ill-judged attempt of the Manchu Emperor Kienlung to "reform" Mongol spelling during the last century, the later editions of the Mongol Records are full of inconsistencies such as these. In 1294 the envoys of Sumutala and Nan-wu-li, who had been detained in China awaiting the result of Kublai's war with Java, were sent back with presents and an official safe-conduct tally. It will be noticed that in both names there are slight variations of syllabic spelling, which seem to me to point in the one instance to a short and weak initial syllable followed by an accented second syllable and a final slur—in short, the sound Smûdra, or something like it.

There is only one more entry in the Mongol Records which seems to me likely to refer to Sumatra. It is in 1309, when, immediately after the arrival of a mission from Chan-pah (Ciampa) with elephants, three special envoys (with Mongol or Hindoo names) were dispatched to Ciampa, Puh-lin-pa (Palembang) and Pah-sih (Pasei). Puh-lin-pang is the form used in a work cited by M. Groeneveldt and dating from 1416.

It will be remembered that Marco Polo speaks of leaving Pentam (Bantam) for the kingdoms of Little Java (Sumatra),

namely, Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dagroian, and Lambri. Now in 1323 the Mongol Records mention missions to the Emperor Shotepala from Pintan and Chao-wa (Bantam and Java), and Colonel Yule identifies Basman with the Paçem of the Portuguese and Pasei of the Malays. He also quotes the Malay Chronicle to show that Pasei was founded by the first Mussulman Sovereign of Samudra, whose two sons, were reigning in Samudra and Pasei in 1346 when the Arab Ibn Batuta was there. I notice that, in the translation I have consulted, Ibn Batuta writes the word Shumutra, and speaks of its camphor. Here, then, we have ample *prima-facie* evidence to show that the Mongols had an official knowledge of at least two states in the island before Marco Polo was in Samara (Samudra); that the Mongol Records are the first to use this last word, which they first pronounce as Ibn Batuta pronounces it; and that they summon Pasei to do duty as soon as ever they hear of its existence.

* * * * *

As soon as ever the Mongols were well out of China, the founder of the new Chinese dynasty of Ming, in 1370, sent an officer to San-foh-ts'i or Sarbaza, to demand the usual submission; no mention whatever is made of any other Sumatran state just yet. The King, Mahârâjâ Palapu, at once responded, and his envoys landed at Ts'üan-chou. It seems that three Kings were reigning at the time, and moreover, a great part of the country had already been conquered by Java, which bestowed a new name (Kewkiang or "Old Haven") upon the chief port, which name, according to Mr. Groeneveldt, is still in current use. The parts which Java was unable to occupy effectively fell a prey to Chinese adventurers, who, as petty Kings themselves, sent tribute to Peking. The anarchy resulting from these political changes led to the blocking of the ocean highways. China invited Siam to use her influence with Java to induce the latter to keep her vassal quiet; and when Malacca put in a claim to part of Sarbaza, alleging the authority of China for it, the Emperor wrote to Java to

disclaim any such idea, so that it is plain China recognised the superior claims of Java. The Cantonese piratical rulers seem also to have recognised the suzerainty of Java, whilst at the same time sending tribute missions of their own to Peking; the last that is heard of the place is that a Chinese pirate named Chang Lien was in charge, of the trading port at least, in 1566, most of his subjects being Fuh Kien men from the two rival Zaitun cities; the pirate collected duties on merchandise, and seemed quite able to preserve some sort of order.

* * * * *

The neglect of the ocean states to send their duty missions led to the despatch in 1405 of the celebrated eunuch Chêng Ho, who took with him a strong escort, amounting almost to an army, and an adequate staff of interpreters. He made seven voyages to the Indian Ocean between 1405 and 1431, but on his first venture he seems to have only visited in person the one single Sumatran state of Samudra, contenting himself with sending lieutenants to the other minor states of the same island. However, on his return journey from Samudra (now for the first time called *Sumên-ta-la*, and corresponding with Friar Odoric's *Sumoltra*) he had a narrow escape of capture at the hands of the Chinese pirate chief of Sarbaza, who was in the end betrayed to the eunuch by another Cantonese adventurer, carried to Peking, and executed there.

Some of the eunuch's account of Sarbaza is admittedly a mere repetition of what was stated in the Sung history; thus, we are told its empire extended over fifteen islands, which probably means that it included Jambi, Kampar, and the islands between Carimon and Banca. The ruler is stated to be styled *chan-pi*, to which statement the later account adds, "afterwards the residence of the great chief was called *chan-pi* state, and the old capital was changed to Kewkiang," clearly a confusion in terms, and referring to the removal of the old princely house from the port to the interior. Among the new statements are the one that a large

part of the population lived on boats or rafts, only the ruling classes living on terra firma. According to Kollewijn's account of the Dutch possessions, Bra Vijaya was ruling in Java at the time of the Palembang conquest, and the son of the Javan Governor of Palembang rebelled against him and defeated him in 1478, driving him to Bali. This Bra Vijaya is evidently the "Pala-wu" or "Bra the military" of the Ming Records, the King of Java who sent tribute in 1452, as I shall explain when I approach the subject of Java.

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Sumoltra is stated to be nine whole days' sail with a favourable wind westwards from Malacca, as Sarbaza is eight westwards from Java, two precise statements which go far towards establishing their exact positions. Subsequent to the Javan conquest of Sarbaza in 1377, and the partition of that state between Chinese adventurers as already related, but before the first Chinese envoy visited Sumëntala in 1403 to notify that and other states of the usurping Emperor's accession, an envoy named Ambar had been sent to the Chinese Court by King Shutan Maleh uh Ta-fên (or Ta-pa—pronounced both ways) of Sü-wên-ta-na. This was in 1383. Again, in 1436 the envoys from Ciampa complain that Siam has been molesting her mission to Sü-wên-ta-na. The syllables *Sü* and *na* are the same as those of Sumënna in 1286; the syllable *wên* in the Fuh Kien and Kwang Tung dialects becomes *mên*, and (as in the word Lambri) the initials *l* and *n* are confused all over China. Of course Sumoltra or Samudra is meant; in fact the Ming Records say: "Some think that Suwëntana is simply Sumëntala, as changed during the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398); but the King's names differ. It is impossible to find this point out."

Fortunately, however, the Chinese have said enough to make it quite certain what place is meant, and at the same time to confirm the accuracy of Colonel Yule's admirable researches. It is clear from the well-known Malay syllables

Tuan and *pai* that in 1282 the Mussulmans were not yet in power. When Ibn Batuta visited the city of Sāmāthrah (or Shumutra as Lee's translation writes it) in 1347 (Heg. year 748), he found "El Malik El Zāhir Samāl Oddu" reigning, and all his neighbours paying him tribute; the said King gave Ibn Batuta a junk for China (Zaitun). Ibn Batuta found China in a state of rebellion, and the Emperor Firūn (*i.e.*, Toghon Timur, the last Mongol) far away at Karakorum. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Ming Records specially mention the arrival in Fuh Kien of Nekulun the Frank (fifty years too soon for Nicolo Conti), and also of a mission from Java, just at the time when the Mongols were collapsing, and they mention no others at that time; both were received and sent safely back through the China seas. Colonel Yule spells the Sumatra King's name Malik-al-Dhāhir. The Chinese syllables are clearly intended for Sultan Malek ud' Dhāfir; in fact, *uh-ting* is often used in such words—for instance, in Nasr u'din.

It is interesting to mark that Marco Polo notices the absence of wheat in Samara, as the Chinese do in Samudra and Sarbaza; also that he observes in Samara the same absence of fermented wine in favour of palm and date wines which the Chinese remark in Sarbaza.

When the eunuch Chēng Ho arrived to summon the King in 1405, Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting was reigning. He had already in anticipation sent submissive envoys to China. Mr. Groeneveldt takes the syllable *z*, "already," to be part of the name, and suggests the native title *petinggi*. Probably some such name as Senur Abu 'din is meant, but of course that is mere conjecture: his father had been killed in war with the "tattooed faces," or Nagur, and, according to the Chinese story, the widow swore to marry the first man who would avenge her. An old fisherman, succeeding in this exploit, had married the Queen, and became "the old King"; but the legitimate son, on attaining years of discretion, had killed him, driving "the old King's" brother Sukanla to the mountains, whence he waged a harassing

war. On the occasion of Chêng Ho's second visit in 1415, Sukanla claimed a share in the presents, and attacked the Chinese, who, supported by the legitimist troops, defeated him, and drove him to Nan-puh-li state (Lambri).

In 1434-35 the King sent his brother (? brothers) Ha-li-chi-han (? and) Ha-ni-chê-han to Court—it is not clear whether there were one or two men; but Ali Jehan is manifestly one name intended, and this one died "greatly regretted" at Peking. The King, being now very old, abdicated in favour of another son, A-puh-sai-yih-ti (evidently Abu Said), and China in due course confirmed the arrangement. Between that date and the arrival of the Portuguese there was only one mission, and that apparently a "bogus" one, in 1486: the rest of the Chinese information seems to be mere hearsay. They tell a long story about a wily slave having persuaded his master the commander-in-chief to assassinate the King, after which the slave in turn assassinated his master, and changed the name of the state to A-ch'i (Atjeh, or Acheen).

As to the Chinese yarn about the fisherman, it is curious to compare it with the Malay legend about Mara Silu, a fisherman, being converted to Islam, adopting the name Malik-al-Salih, and assigning Samudra to one son Dhahir, with Pasei to the other son Mansur: unfortunately, the dates will not suit at all. The slave dynasty of Acheen may or may not be the power now ruling, which is strong enough, any way, to defy all the efforts of the Dutch. Kollewijn says that, when the first Portuguese landed in Sumatra (1506), Acheen was the leading state.

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As to the other states in Sumatra, we have seen that in 1309 envoys were sent to Pa-sih; but, apart from the fact that there is nothing to show where it was, this Pa-sih, even if in Sumatra, could not then have been of much importance: it might just as well be Pasig in Luzon, or Passir in Borneo, for the first Mussulman state of Pasei in Sumatra was scarcely yet formed.

The Ming Records say that the Frank adventurers Pedro, "Sushili," etc., after plundering Malacca and other states, consoled themselves for the repulse of the mission to Peking by sailing with five ships to attack Pa-si; and finally it winds up the account of the Franks (Portuguese) by saying that "they swept the seas in such a way that neither Malacca, Pasi, nor Luzon could attempt to cope with them." But the ancient Chinese map of Sumatra, discovered by Mr. Phillips, does not mark Pasi at all, which is further evidence that its existence as a state was short.

Nevertheless, Marco Polo says Basman owned the supremacy of the Great Khan, and as he uses the Northern Chinese word Manzi, or *man-tse*, to signify the southern half of China, we are pretty safe in assuming that Basman simply means Pasei-man, or the "barbarians of Pasei," and that it ceased to have an independent existence about 1530. The word *man* is frequently thus tacked on to the name of a foreign country. Colonel Yule says that Malacca, Pasei, and Majapahit (Java) were (about a century before that date) the three chief cities of the Archipelago, a statement almost textually confirmed, as above, by the Ming Records, but for a later date. The "Encyclopædia Britannica" must be wrong in saying that Sumatra was Pedir's dependency in 1506, and that Pedir and Pasei were the only two states of Sultan rank: as we have seen, the Chinese give Sultan rank to Sumatra from 1383, and the Portuguese found Acheen the most powerful state in 1506. Nothing is recorded of Sumatra by the Chinese subsequent to the period of its climax under Jokandar Muda (1607-36), nor of Pasei, Pedir, Johore, Pahang, Quedah, Perak, Aru, Padang, and other states which the "Encyclopædia" says were vassal to Sumatra at this time. The Chinese mention the Siamese as trying to use political influence in Sumatra affairs in 1406-8; but at this time Pahang was, in the eyes of China, independent, and Johore did not yet exist.

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I can only find one certain mention of Marco Polo's

Fansur in all Chinese history. In 1418 the King of Java sent back to China some soldiers belonging to the suite of a Chinese envoy who had been wrecked at, or had drifted to, Pan-tsu-rh, whence they had been ransomed by a friendly Java man, who brought them back to Java.

A state called Kuli-Pantsu (the word *Kuli* elsewhere meaning "Calicut") is stated to have sent tribute between 1403 and 1424, but there is nothing further said by which this state can be identified.

Mr. Phillips' Chinese map, which he believes to be as old as the year 1399 at least, marks Pan-tsu on the north-west coast of Sumatra, and uses the two first characters of Pan-tsu-rh, and the two last of Kuli-Pansuh to write it.

I notice on a modern English map a large island called Panchor off the east coast, opposite Malacca and Singapore; but whether the Chinese Calicut-Fansur and plain Fansur of the records are, both or either of them, the same place with Panchor, or with the Fansur marked on the Chinese map, I cannot say. Colonel Yule seems a trifle overzealous in twisting *bárús* (camphor) round to be the same word as *pansur* (camphor). The word now pronounced *p'olúh* (having retrospectively and provably the etymological power *barut*) is as old as the first Chinese knowledge of the Archipelago, and is used in reference to the best "dragon-brain" camphor brought by traders from Java, Sumatra, and other Archipelagan states. It is true two Chinese authorities say the said camphor comes from *polúh* state (almost the same word). That is a question I shall postpone for discussion under the head "Borneo." But Pantsu is a stray word, 1,000 years younger than Barut, with which it cannot possibly have any etymological connection.

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Nan-wu-li (south dialect, Lam-bu-li) is marked on the old Chinese map as being at the extreme north-western point of the island: it is first mentioned, as already explained, in 1284, 1286, and 1294, the name being on each occasion spelt differently, so far as the eye is concerned, but always so as to produce the same sound. Nothing further is said.

In 1405 the eunuch representing the new Chinese dynasty seems to have sent a lieutenant thither, and to have gone himself in 1408. In 1411 the King sent an envoy, who came along with the envoys of Cail (India) and Kelantan (Malay): there was tribute again in 1416, and there is an end to it,—no details given.

But, strange to say, another state called Nan-p'uh-li sends tribute in 1412, and again in 1415, 1416, 1418, 1419, 1421, and 1423. Nothing whatever is said about any Chinese envoy ever going there; but in 1429, when the eunuch went on his last voyage, Nan-p'uh-li got a share of the imperial presents.

The explanation of all this is that, when the Lambri mission reached Peking, the Pekingese would have to spell the word in a way to suit their own dialect; but it is curious that, when Chêng Ho was ordered to take the Nan-wu-li envoy back in 1416, nothing was said by his scribes about the Nan-p'uh-li envoy of the same year being the same man or a different man. However, it is absolutely provable, from the extracts translated, that Nan-p'uh-li is Lambri; and as we have already seen that Nan-wu-li is also marked in Lambri's position, it follows that both states are one.

The Ming Records are clear as to Nan-p'uh-li's position: it is three whole days' sail west of [the port of] Sumëntala, which was nine days west of Malacca. If in 1415 the eunuch pursued the rebel Sukanla into Lambri, it must have been adjoining Samudra; but here again it is strange the eunuch, who had himself been in Nan-wu-li in 1408, left no record of its being the Nan-p'uh-li which he approached as a general by land in 1415. It was evidently a very petty state, for we are told "the King and inhabitants are all Mussulmans, only some 1,000 families; little grain produced; fish and shrimps the chief food. King Mohammed Shah sent an envoy with the Samudra envoy in 1412; to the end of the Emperor's reign (1424) they continued to send tribute: the King's son, Shah Jehan, also sent an envoy."

Here follows a curious addition: "In the sea to the north-west of them there is a lofty mountain (or island) called Hat Mountain, west of which again is the great sea called Na-muh-li Ocean: ocean ships coming from the west use this as a mark: close by, the water is shallow and produces coral-trees, the highest over 3 feet." The Chinese map certainly points to Hat Island being close to Sumatra; and this is the view taken by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Groeneveldt. Still, it is interesting to notice the significance of a "Sombbrero" [*i.e.*, Hat] Channel in English maps amongst the South Nicobars, which in the Chinese map are as near Hat Island as the latter is to Sumatra. Colonel Yule also quotes Rashiduddin, who speaks of "the very large island of Lámúri, lying beyond Ceylon and adjoining the country of Sumutra." On the other hand, Friar Odoric crosses from India to the Lamori country, and thence to Sumoltra in the same island.

Hence, though there is no question about Lambri, it appears both from Chinese and Western accounts that, unless all parties are mistaken, west of Lambri there was a something else, either sea or land, having a name uncommonly like Lambri.

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The Chinese histories do not mention Lide, nor does the map give any place which could possibly be mistaken for it; but east of and adjoining Lambri the Ming Records say there was a state subordinate to Sumoltra called Li-fah, lying to the west of Nagur and Sumoltra. This is the exact position of Lide according to De Barros' enumeration of the petty states he visited, and I accept the view of Messrs. Groeneveldt and Phillips (disapproved by Dr. Bretschneider) that some editions (mine for one) print a stroke too much, thus turning *tai* into *fah*. As a rule I look very much askance at alleged "misprints" when made use of to explain inconsistencies; but this is one of the cases where the character by its own ambiguity positively invites misprint. Moreover, in a private work called the *Ying-yai*, the form

tai (*te*) does actually occur. Another parallel case is that of the Mongol Chao-wa (Java), which, by the addition of an almost invisible point, became the Chinese Kwa-wa throughout the Ming Records. A still more glaring case is the Turkish word *t'e-k'in* or *teghin*, which by the elision of a couple of faint strokes was supposed by Palladius to represent *t'e-le* or *dere*. Nothing whatever is said by Chinese history of Li-fah or Lide, except that they sent envoys in the train of Sumoltra, that their chief is elective, and that they number 3,000 families. Marco Polo says nothing of Lide. There is a mere possibility that Li-fah may be the Riah of modern maps south of Pasei, but no one seems to have mentioned Riah at any date, nor do I know whether there ever was, or now is, such a place.

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The Ming Records state that between Lide and Sumoltra lay the petty state of Nagur, or "face tattooers," 1,000 families, having simple republican customs; both sexes went naked except for a loin-clout, and the males pricked figures of flowers and animals into their faces, which were of "monkey type." It must have been a fairly powerful community to sustain a war in 1406-1410 with Sumoltra. Mr. Phillips identifies it with Marco Polo's cannibal Dagroian; but the Venetian does not describe its position, though the mere sound certainly suggests some slight analogy. Colonel Yule thinks it must be Pedir, "or near it," but, as we have seen, the Chinese at no date mention any place with that sound; certainly on the Chinese map there is a place Peh-t'u ("white earth") between Lambri and the "Greater and Lesser Face Tattooers." This might be Pedir, but in that case "or near it" would be the utmost we could allow; but even then the Tattooers of the map are round the corner to the west from Lambri, whereas Pedir is round the corner to the east. Mr. Marsden supposes what he calls "Dragoyan" to be Indragiri, opposite Malacca, which is untenable; Mr. Hugh Murray suggests Indrapur near Padang, which is equally impossible. Mr. Groeneveldt

thinks that native Battas in an advanced stage were meant by Nagur. Kollewijn says the Battas when penetrated by Hinduism formed a state in North Sumatra, the remnant of which is still found in the little kingdom of Bakara on the Sea of Toba, and that cannibalism has not quite ceased yet. This would furnish a solution in harmony with the views of Marco Polo and Mr. Groeneveldt, if we only knew where "Bakara and the Sea of Toba" were; besides, Nagur suggests the Hindoo word *nagara*, "a city." There is yet one other suggestion. Mr. Kollewijn speaks of the *negari* of the Padang highlands, and vividly describes their very republican or communal customs. If the Padang highlands (like the Hinterlands of modern statesmen in Africa) could be stretched a little so as to cross—not a continent, but—a good-sized island, and to include Pedir, we might bring even the Chinese authorities into the "concert of agreement," which in this particular instance I cannot, in the absence of sounder data, undertake to lead to a solution. I have only been to one place in Sumatra myself, and that is Deli, near "Ferlech." I was told by mariners that all the ports of that coast were much the same, *i.e.*, long sluggish reaches meandering amongst flat mangrove swamps.

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The Chinese have nothing whatever of a descriptive kind to say at any time about Ferlech or Parlac, but their ancient map gives "Pa-luk Head" between Aru and Sumoltra.

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The Chinese mention several Sumatran states not enumerated by Marco Polo. For instance, in 1282 Kublai Khan sent an envoy named Adam to subdue Falilang, Alu, and Kampeh states. These cannot be but the Farlac and Aru of Colonel Yule's map (the Pa-luk and Alu of the Chinese map), between which two the Chinese map places "Kan-pei Haven." In 1294 the *tuan* P'ungyü, brother of the chief of Tanjong; Milapatu, brother of the chief of Fa-rh-la; and the *tuan* Hussein, brother of the chief of Aru, all came to submit addresses at Kublai's Court.

Tanjong may be anything, as in Malay it simply means (I believe) "promontory" or "wharf," e.g., Tanjong Pagar at Singapore. Aru is almost certainly on the mainland of Sumatra, and not the Aru Islands between it and Selangore. Kanpei or Kampei must not be confused with the "Kampa Haven" towards Palembang, and also on the Chinese map. The word *tuan* (which is like the Hindoo "sahib" and which I was always myself styled by natives in those parts) marks two of the places named as Malay; but as Marco Polo describes Ferlech city as "converted by the Saracens," probably "Milapatu" is a corrupted Arab name.

The Ming Records say that Aru is three whole days' sail from Malacca; customs and climate like Sumatra. In 1411 the King, Sultan Hussein, sent an envoy along with those of Calicut and other states. Chêng Ho returned the compliment in 1412. In 1419 the *tuan* Allah Shah, son of the King, sent an envoy, and tribute came in 1421 and 1423; in 1429 the eunuch took them some presents, and there the matter ends. Mr. Groeneveldt quotes two Chinese books composed by the eunuch's Chinese interpreter in Arabic, from which it appears that Alu is opposite the Sembilangs (Perak), and connected with the Insipid Sea (*i.e.*, flat, or not boisterous). This remark is particularly interesting, for the journey of Ibn Batuta from Shumutra to China lay, after leaving "Mul Java" (which was connected by land with Shumutra) through the "Still Sea."

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No China history says anything of Kampar, but "Kampa Haven" is marked on the 1399 map, which also gives Lampong. The Ming Records say that the King of Lampong, Sri Mahārājā Dirājā sent a tribute envoy in 1376. Between 1403 and 1435 another mission, or perhaps two missions, came. The people are said to be Buddhists, and both hemp and wheat are stated to grow; but the land is described as sandy and stony, so that there is not much sea-trade with China.

THE GARDEN OF CLIMES.*

(HADIQA-AL-AQĀLIM.)

By H. BEVERIDGE.

THIS work was written about 120 years ago, by Mūrtazā Husain, of Bilgrām, in Oudh, and who was also called Ilāh Yār 'Uṣmānī. It is a geographical treatise, written in imitation of the "Haft Iqlīm" of Amīn Rāzī, and, like it, contains a quantity of historical and biographical matter. It is essentially a compilation from a few Muhammadan books, the "Subah Sādiq" being perhaps the one most frequently quoted, and much of it is dull and tedious to the Western reader. But the prolix accounts of sovereigns and saints and countries are interspersed with notes of the author's own experiences and adventures, and it is to those that the work owes its vitality. They are generally introduced by the words "*raqim-i-hurūf gūyad*," "the writer says," and crop up in the most unexpected places, so that one has to travel over deserts of historical and geographical disquisition in search of them. Thus, at p. 360, we find in the midst of an account of the Seljūqs of Kirmān a description of an eclipse of the sun which the author witnessed in India in 1175 A.H., when the sun was in Gemini. He does not tell us in what place he then was, but no doubt it was in Northern India, and he says the eclipse occurred three or four hours before sunset, that the body of the moon was superimposed over that of the sun, but that the latter protruded to the extent of a barley-corn, thereby showing, he remarks, that the sun was the larger of the two. Gemini, 1175, corresponds to June, 1762, and I have not been able to trace this eclipse in any European book. It appears from *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* that there was a solar eclipse on June 3, 1761. This is equal to 7 Shawwāl, 1174, and it is probable that Ilāh Yār, when

* Lithographed at the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1879.

writing some twenty years afterwards, made a mistake of a year. He mentions the eclipse apropos of one which occurred in 557 A.H., when the sun was in Taurus, *i.e.*, April, 1762, and which is said to have so alarmed Mihiyîd-dîn Tughril Shâh, the Seljûq King of Kirmân, as to cause his death. The only eclipse nearly corresponding to this appears to be that which occurred on January 17, 1762.

Another instance of buried information is at p. 390, where we are told, apropos of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and his relations to Hasân Sabbâh, the head of the Assassins, that the practice of numbering pages of accounts was not known then, and is said to have been the invention of Todar Mal. At p. 160, the author apologizes for his discursiveness, and seems inclined to attribute it to old age and the melancholy circumstances under which he wrote ; but the excuse recalls Wordsworth's sarcastic comment on Ellwood's apology for introducing a notice of Milton into his autobiography. Our regret is not that Ilâh Yâr has occasionally digressed, but that he has not done so often enough. It is curious that so many Muhammadan writers should have thought it incumbent on them to write a history of the world instead of confining their attention to their own times. However small their abilities or their experience of affairs, they can hardly enter upon the most local and parochial details without a preliminary prance among the patriarchs. Ilâh Yâr must needs give us details about Adam and Eve, and repeats the ridiculous stories which have been told by hundreds of previous writers. At p. 185 we have an account of Damascus, where we are informed that it was the birthplace of the prophet Job, and that the fountain which rose from his footsteps is still flowing, and is efficacious for the removal of disease. He also gravely assures us that, though there is a tradition that Cain killed Abel at Damascus, it is of feeble authority, for the more correct account is that the death of Abel occurred in the island of Ceylon ! Even Abul Fazl, though he is so

heterodox as to begin his history without involving Muhammad and his successors, cannot avoid giving a résumé of the world's history from the days of Adam. No doubt it is religious feeling which has prompted so many Muhammadans to waste their time and that of their readers over such apocryphal narratives, just as Bossuet, in his otherwise admirable discourse on universal history, has given too much space (the remark is Comte's) to the history of the Jews; and though the mischief thus caused by superstition may not be as tragic as the slaughter of Iphigenia, it is probably more real. It is certainly a thousand pities that Ilāh Yār followed the bad example of his predecessors, and that he did not give us more of his own experiences, for he lived at an interesting time and had exceptional opportunities. He saw Delhi (p. 41) when he was a boy of twelve, in the days of its splendour and luxury, in the early part of Muhammad Shāh's reign, and witnessed the reception of Nadir Shāh's Ambassadors. He saw it again eight years later, when Muhammad Shāh was still king, but had become a devotee and companion of dervishes, and was spending his time in solving such riddles as whether the hen or the egg was born first. The glory had now departed from the city, for in the interval there had occurred the sack and massacre by Nadir Shāh. He saw it for the third time in the reign of 'Alamgir II., after it had been plundered by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, who had caused the foundations of many houses to be dug up in quest of buried treasure. At that time it was in a most deplorable condition. The author was also present at the capture of Gwalior by Major Popham, in 1780, and had the honour of being nominated by Captain Scott to compose a chronogram on the event (p. 164). Elsewhere (p. 109) the author records that he saw upon this occasion the tombs of two gallant princes—Mūrād Bakhsh and Sulimān Shikoh. The English soldiers, I am sorry to say, dug them up, but they were restored as far as possible at the instance of Captain Scott. The author also conducted the negotiations with

Cheyt Singh's mother when she was shut up in Bijaigarh, for the delivery of her treasure, etc. (p. 677). Unfortunately they were not rectified by Warren Hastings.

In his preface he tells us that he had been in public employ from the time he was ten till he was fifty-five, and he gives a list of the statesmen he served under. It begins with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, Sar Baland Khan, of Tūn, and ends with Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farūkhābād. One of his masters was 'Alī Qulī Khan, the six-fingered, and known as Daghistāni,* who wrote a biography of poets; but the most interesting name in the list is that of the unfortunate Mīr Qāsim, the Subahdar of Bihar and Bengal. At p. 612 he tells us that he was Bakhshī and Dārōgha-i-Dāgh (branding-officer for the cavalry, *i.e.*, keeper of the muster-roll), under Mirzā Asad Ullāh, who was Mīr Qāsim's General, and was sent against the English along with him. They went to support Samru (Sombre) Zu-al-Nūr and Markār the Christian, and apparently the author was present at the battles of Suti and Udwanāla. He recurs to the subject at p. 652, in his account of Rajmahal, and says that he suggested various plans of resistance to the officers, but was not listened to. He also says he had a vision two days before the night attack of Udwanāla, and that by acting in conformity therewith he escaped disaster. The particulars of the vision have been recorded by him, he says, in another work, called the "Lauh-i-Mahfūz," or Guarded Tablet, but I have not found this work mentioned in any catalogue of Persian MSS. At p. 154, he tells us that it contains his conversations with a celebrated mystic called Sifat-Ullah, of Khānābād in Oudh. There is also a reference to the book at p. 679. Ilāh Yār seems to have accompanied Mīr Qāsim in his flight after the battle of Bākar, and was with him in Rohilkand, in Anwala (Aonla of I. G.), and Bareilly, but separated from him at Gohad, p. 176. Unfortunately he gives no details, and has no personal recollections of

* Also known as the father of Gunnā Begam (see Beale's "Orig. Biog. Dict.," 146 and 414).

Mīr Qāsim beyond an insignificant anecdote, viz., that Mīr Qāsim told him that Shūjā-ud-Daulah, the Vizier of Oudh, had plundered him of thirty-six *sirs* weight of jewellery (the text, p. 612, has *zinān*, belts, but the MSS. seem to have *asān*, i.e., *sirs*.)

The author tells us in his preface how he came to write his history. After being a public man for many years he lost his employment, and was living in distress (apparently in his paternal village of Bilgram), when he was introduced in the end of Jumāda the first 1190, July 1776, to Captain Jonathan Scott, by a friend named Rajah 'Alī, of Bāra.* The author was then 57 years old. Jonathan Scott was a good scholar and a generous patron, as he showed on this occasion, and also long afterwards in England, when he befriended Dr. Lee, the Orientalist and translator of the abridged version of Ibn Batuta. In Elliot he is called Persian Secretary of Warren Hastings, but perhaps he did not hold this appointment when Ilāh Yār was introduced to him. At all events, we find him engaged in active service at Gwalior in 1780, and we also find Major Davey spoken of about that time as Persian Secretary.† Scott wrote some good books, but perhaps the best service he rendered to literature was his encouraging Ilāh Yār to write his book. The latter expresses his gratitude to Scott and his admiration for his learning in lively terms, and tells that his patron's Indian name was Jalāl-ud-daulah Mufākhir-i-Jang, that the translation of the name Jonathan is Allāh Bakhsh, or God-

* Bāra is given in the L. G. as the name of a village in Oudh, and this is probably the place meant here, for Bilgrām is also in Oudh. But Bārāh was also the name of twelve villages in the Dirāl, famous for being the homes of a large family of Sayyads (see Blochmann's translation of the Ain 390, the Tabaqāt Akbari of Nizam-ed-din, Lucknow ed., 384, and Elliot's "Supplemental Glossary," i., 11.

† On the title-page of his translation of Irādat Khan's "Memoirs," Scott calls himself private Persian translator to Warren Hastings, and in the dedication he thanks Hastings for having given him an appointment in his family. It appears from this dedication that Scott was in London in May, 1786, 1200 A.H., so Ilāh must have been out of his employ when revising his book in 1202.

given, and that the surname Scott stands for the head of a clan. The only thing, indeed, that we know against Scott is that he was the brother (younger) of the notorious Major Scott, alias Scott-Waring. Ilāh Yār wrote his book for the entertainment of Captain Scott during the rule of Asaf-ud-Daulah, the Vizier of Oudh. There is a notice of the work in Elliot's "Historians of India," viii., 180, and part of the preface is given there. But the translation does not seem to agree with the original as given in the Lucknow edition. Ilāh Yār does not say there that he has changed the expressions of his authorities, but that he has preserved them in order that his readers may see the changes in the Persian language. Nor is it quite fair to say that the author confesses to having an eye to his own interest in writing his book. He does indeed express a hope* that the English will have pity on his old age, and be kind to him, his descendants, and his dependants, but he immediately afterwards recollects himself and addresses his supplications to God. I am afraid, however, that, out of regard to his patrons, he has too often observed a cautious reticence and not told us his full mind. He claims, and apparently with justice, that it is the first book written in Persian which deals with the rise of the English power in India. He concludes by saying that he is the sole author of the book, and that some imperfect copies had been given away, *e.g.*, to Captain Scott, Colonel Polier,† "who is now in Europe," and to Maulwi Darvesh 'Ali of Jaunpur. Now he has revised and corrected his book, and has put his signature to it. Perhaps the fact of the two redactions is the reason why the lithographed edition differs from the manuscripts in the British Museum and the India Office

* It is pleasant to learn from the notices in Elliot that the hope was fulfilled, and that Ilāh Yār's son rose to high office under the British Government.

† This must have been added at the revision in 1202, for Polier did not arrive in Europe till July, 1788 (see *Asiatic Journal* for 1819, p. 469). Darvesh 'Ali, of Jaunpur is referred to at p. 678 as a young man adorned with learning and other good qualities.

in arrangement, and apparently also in substance. The former has a *Fāida*, Supplement, which begins at p. 549, and extends to the end of the volume, at p. 697, and which contains some of the most interesting things in the book; for instance, the negotiations with Cheyt Singh's mother, and the legend about Akbar's having been a Hindu in a previous life. In the MS. copy in the British Museum the Supplement* is much shorter, and I could not find the story about Akbar in the MS., nor in that in the India Office. There is also a copy of the "Hadīqa" in the Bodleian Library, and there is a full description of it in Dr. Ethi's Catalogue, but I have not seen the MS. The passage from the "Hadīqa," translated in Elliot, viii., 182, corresponds to one at pp. 612-613 of the Lucknow edition, but there are several discrepancies. It is important that the Lucknow edition gives no information about the MS. which was used by the editor. Scott contributed to the "Hadīqa" the account of the New World, etc., and Ilāh Yār fully acknowledges his obligations to him. When he says that the work is entirely his own he means that part of it which is concerned with the Seven Climes. The New World he regards as beyond those limits. At p. 503 he tells us that when he showed his book to Captain Scott that gentleman highly approved of it, and observed that it was very full about the Old World, but that it was a blank as regards the New World. Ilāh Yār replied that he had spoken briefly about the latter with reference to the expeditions ordered by Alexander Rūmī, but that his authorities did not contain much on the subject, and begged Captain Scott to supply his deficiencies. This Captain Scott did, and in an interesting passage at p. 504

* Hutton. The author tells us at p. 549, when he was 70 years of age, he began reading for it in Rabī-al-awal, 1202 (December, 1787). He says that as the book had been completed, and copies sent to many places, he could not put the additions after each direct, and so put them into a Supplement. But perhaps the lithographed edition is wrongly arranged, for though the Supplement in it professes to have been written in 1202, it contains many passages where 1194 and 1195 are spoken of as being the present time.

Scott records that he had done this, and had supplied from European books information about the earth's motion, etc., in order to gratify his excellent friend Shaikh Ilāh Yār Bilgrāmī, and expresses the hope that his contribution may remain as a memorial of the friendship between a Firinghi and a Musulmān. He then proceeds to give the theories of the solar system from the days of Thales to Copernicus, etc. At pp. 613-614 there is an account of a conversation with Captain Scott, at Chuncy, about England and the Poor-Laws.

I now propose to notice the contents of Ilāh Yār's book, and to pick out the most interesting passages. But I shall in the first place give a short biography of the author, taken from his own account of himself. At p. 156 *et seq.*, under the heading of Bilgrām, he gives us details about himself and his family. He was born, he says, at Peshawar, on 20 Mūharram, 1133 A.H. (= 10 November, 1720), the chronogram being Ghulām Nabī. His family belonged to Bilgrām, in Oudh, and had been settled there from the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni. By the mother's side he was descended from the famous Samarkand saint Khwājāh 'Abdullah Ahrār. The founder of his family apparently was 'Abdullah Rahmān 'Usmānī, who came from Madīna to Persia, and settled in the town of Kāzarūn* (60 miles west of Shiraz). A descendant came to India in 409 A.H., with Mahmūd of Ghazni, and became a Qāzī of Bilgram, which originally was called Srinagar. The author says that in the year 1200 A.H., he saw a deed of sale which bore the name of one of his ancestors—Muhammad Yusaf—with the date 421 (1030 A.D.). The author's father was also called Ilāh Yār, and was Bakhshī, a title which, according to the author, is equal to that of Qūrchī Bāshī, under the King of Delhi. He was killed in battle near Ahmadabad, in Gujerāt, on 5th October,† 1730, when he was fighting against

* There is an account of this town, and a view of it, in Burnley's "Travels," i.

† See p. 641, and Mr. Beale's "Dictionary," p. 48, and Todd's "Register," under head "Annals of Marwar," where honourable testimony is borne to Ilāh Yār the 1st's valour.

the Rajput Abhai Singh, and was apparently in rebellion against the Emperor of Delhi. At that time the author was under ten years of age, but Mūbārīz-ul-Mulk sent for him from Bilgrām and procured his investiture with his father's dignities. There are notices of himself scattered through the work, as, for instance, at p. 662, where we are told that he married an Afghan lady of the family of Ludhi, at Saparam, and had a son born to him at Bilgrām. There is also, at p. 671, an interesting account of a narrow escape which the author had, when still a boy, on the occasion of the bursting of a cannon, when he and his elder brother were besieging a fort in Nargara Shorām. This seems to be the Sorām of the Imperial Gazetteer, which is situated a few miles to the north of Allahabad. The author tells us how he revisited the place more than forty years afterwards in attendance on an English officer of the name of Cameron, who is also mentioned at p. 164 as having taken part in the capture of Gwalior, and of his melancholy reflections on the change of his fortunes. Here he was, he says, sitting on the ground under a tree, with one sorry horse and a poor servant, who had formerly been in the same place as lord of a district, with an elephant to ride upon, and in command of many soldiers. But he soon recovered his equanimity, and after quoting a line of poetry, took pleasure in questioning a young Brahmin whom he met if he had heard anything from his father about the history of the fort.

I have not been able to ascertain the time or place of Ilāh Yār's death, but my friend Mr. Irvine has supplied me with a passage in the "*Tārikh-i-Farūkhābādī*," which says that Ilāh Yār died between 1200 and 1210, and that he wrote poetry as well as the "*Hadiqa*" and the "*Lauh-i-Mahfuz*." He is referred to in Elliot's "*Supplemental Glossary*," i. 30, as the accurate Mūrtaza Khan, and a passage is quoted from him which is said to have been written about 1790, *i.e.*, 1204 A.H. He is also quoted* at p. 45 of the same work

* The passage in the "*Hadiqa*" there referred to is p. 167 of the Lucknow edition.

as an authority for the etymology of the word Būndelā, and is described as an intelligent author.

The author begins the "Ḥadīqa" by explaining the scope of his work, viz., the description of the seven climes, and he gives us the views of the ancient philosophers about the spheres, etc. The description of the first two climes presents nothing remarkable. The third climate includes India, and we have a long account of that country and of its rulers. He follows Abul Fazl in stating, pp. 35, 36, that the Hindus are not idolaters, or at least that they defend themselves against the charge, and say that they use images on the same principle as Muhammadans have Imāms and teachers to whom they look when they pray. At p. 36 we have a description of Indian weights, and a statement that, according to the Hindus, one of their Vedas makes mention of Muhammad. At p. 38 we have a reference to the ever-interesting subject of the comparison of eras. This is recurred to at p. 52, where we are told that 1195 A.H. corresponds to 1838 Vikramaditya and 1698 Salivahan. The account of Delhi has been already noticed, and the long narrative of Indian dynasties need not detain us. Here and there we get interesting notices, *e.g.*, at p. 98, where we are told of an immense cooking-pot presented to the shrine at Ajmīr by Akbar, which could cook 140 maunds of food, and which Ilāh Yār tells us was still in existence in 1195 A.H.* At p. 100 we have an account of a wonderful present sent by Shāh Jahān in 1058 A.H. to Mecca, which contained among other things a piece of ambergris weighing 700 tolahs, and a diamond 100 sarkhs in weight. In the account of Aurangzib's reign, whom, of course, the author greatly admires, we are told (p. 109) of a spirited reply by the Armenian poet and ascetic named Sarmad Darvesh to Aurangzib. Dārā Shikoh is said to have been a believer in Sarmad, and to have been told by him that he would obtain a throne. When, then, he had been defeated and put to death, Aurangzib taunted Sarmad with

* I am informed that the great *deg* is still in use.

his prophecy, saying, "You told Dārā that he would gain a throne, and now, behold, he is dead." "I promised him sovereignty," replied Sarmad, "and now, lo, he is seated on a throne that fadeth not away!" I should have noticed that at p. 91 there is an account of Akbar. It does not give much that is new, but there is an interesting anecdote of Akbar's clemency towards one Shaikh Muhammad Taqī who declined to desert Dāūd Khan, saying that a woman whose husband was alive could not take another mate. There is also a quotation (probably taken from "Nizām-ud-din") from the famous declaration drawn up by Mubārak, the father of Abul Fazl, and the verse is given which Akbar tried to utter from the pulpit of the mosque in Fatehpur Sikri. Ilāh Yār adds that the people said that Akbar was claiming the gift of prophecy, and were displeased; and he quotes two sarcastic lines of Saidī of Lahore to the effect that this year Akbar was claiming to be a prophet, and that next year, *if God willed*, he would be God.* At the end of the account of Aurangzib numerous extracts are given from his correspondence. At p. 129 we have a reference to a work called "Inshā-i-Qalandar," "Letters of a Calendar," written by Yār Muhammad, a servant of Nawab Amīn-ed-daula, and an account by the latter, taken apparently from this "Insha," of the death of 'Azīm-us-shān. Amīn-ed-daula was present at the battle, and gives a graphic description of how the Prince's elephant was wounded in his proboscis and became unmanageable, and rushed into the river Rāvī. Amīn-ed-daula† followed on horseback; but when he arrived all was over, and he saw naught but the river rolling rapidly and the churning up of mud from the

* In "Nizām-ud-din Tabaqāt Akbari," p. 340 of Lucknow lithographs there is a remarkable passage about Akbar's suddenly becoming "attracted" or brought under Divine influence, and of his countermanding a hunting party in consequence. The stroke came upon him while he was sitting under a tree, and occurred in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. The passage is omitted in Elliot, vol. viii.

† Scott refers to Amīn-ed-daula's accounts in a note at p. 70 of his translation of Irādāt Khan's "Memoirs."

bottom. Yār Muhammad's letters are referred to by Elliot, "Supplemental Glossary," p. 150, where it is stated that they have been printed at Calcutta under the title of "Dastur-al-Insha." Mr. Beames, however, has been unable to find the book in the India Office Library, and it does not appear in the catalogue of the Persian books in the Asiatic Society's Library. The passage quoted by Elliot from it corresponds to one at p. 143 of the "Hādīqa," where a long extract is given from the letters descriptive of the author's embassy to Kumaon.

At foot of p. 138 we have a reference to the author's visit to Rohilkand when he was in attendance on Mir Qāsim, and a description of the depravity which prevailed among the Rohillas. He says that their ways recalled those of Sodom and Gomorrah, and that Shujā'-ed-daula's treatment of them was a fitting chastisement for their sins. At p. 155 we have a description of Lucknow, and of works executed there by an ancestor of his. The author was long in that city in the service of Rajah Nawal Rai. In the supplement, p. 634, we have a description of this Rajah's defeat and death. P. 161 gives an account of Agra, and of a visit paid by the author to Sikandra.

The account of India ends at p. 176, and is succeeded by a description of Syria and its famous men. Here we find, at p. 182, one or two legends about Jesus Christ, and in the following page there is a reference to the book by Jerome Xavier, and the legend given by him about the Virgin Mary's marriage is reproduced. I have not found anything specially interesting in the long accounts of the third* and fourth climes, except that, under the head of Tūn, there is a biography of Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, Sar Baland Khan, and, under Nishāpūr, an account of Burhān-ul-Mulk Sayyad Sa'adat Khan. It may be remarked, too, that the Lucknow edition contains a table of contents, though it is

* Near the end of the book, in the part of the supplement dealing with the third climate, there is a curious tradition about Nazareth to the effect that, as the people of that village mocked at the pregnancy of the Virgin Mary, girls born there are not virgins.

not a very full one. I shall therefore not attempt to analyze the book further, but will conclude with the account of the Fort of Allahabad, and the remarkable legend about Akbar's having been originally a Hindu. The author knew Allahabad well, having visited it several times, and having served there for seven or eight years. The account begins in the middle of p. 663.

After telling us that Akbar founded the city and called it Allahābās, and that his grandson, Shāh Jahān, changed the name to Allahabād, he proceeds to mention that when he was in the service of Rajah Nawal Rai, the Naib of Oudh and Allahabad, he saw the original accounts of the costs of making the fort. He forgets the exact figures, but remembers that the amount was two crores and some lakhs, and that the last item was three annas. He also remembers that the rupee was stated to be equal to fifty-two *katcha* copper tankas. Then he describes the mysterious Sarasati river, and says there was a subterranean chamber (*sardāba*) in the fort known by the name of Patālpūrī, and that there was a Brahman woman who would get a light and show it to the curious. She would take him as far as a decayed *ban*-tree, without leaves or branches. Near it was an opening, or window (*daricha*), such as a man could with difficulty pass through; but she would dissuade the visitor from making the attempt by telling how a *jōgī* had once gone in with a torch and lots of oil, but had never come out again.

Then he tells how an accidental fire in the fort led to the discovery of many buildings which had been hidden under jungle and rubbish. In one of them there was found a thing, shaped like a common bat, made of raw leather. He mentioned this afterwards to Captain Jonathan Scott, and was told by him that in old times guns were made of leather. In an old hammām, or bath, in the fort, the writer saw, in 1163 A.H. (the Alchaibar, Elliot's "Supplementary Glossary," i. 265), a tree which, according to the Hindūs, was indestructible, and as old as the world. Jahāngir had

cut it down, and placed a hot iron plate over its root, and built the bath over it; but the tree had sprouted again, and had destroyed the masonry. However, when the author revisited the spot in 1190 A.H., he saw the ruined bath, but not the tree.

And now we come to the legend about Akbar. The Hindūs, he says, used to cut themselves in two on the bank of the Jamna, in order that they might obtain deliverance, or that they might in another birth become kings and princes. Shāh Jahān was said to have removed the saw, etc., by means of which they killed themselves; but many people tell that it was Akbar who removed the implements. An old Hindū who was well versed in their scriptures told the author that Akbar was originally a Hindū ascetic, and was named Mukund. He used to sit on the bank of the Jamna over against Jhūsī, and had three confidential disciples, or *chelas*. From a desire of obtaining sovereignty, he made *hōma* of himself—i.e., he cut himself in two on the saw, and was burnt. His three disciples did the same from a desire to be with him in the other life. In process of time Mukund was born in the house of Humāyūn, and was known as Muhammad Akbar. Likewise his three disciples were born again, and becoming Birbal, Todar Mal, and Tānsēn,* or, according to another account, the Khān-Khānān, entered into Akbar's service. One day Akbar was playing *chaupar*† with the three, and proposed that each of the four should recite a line of Sanscrit poetry. They threw the dice, and repeated their lines, Birbal being the last. Ilāh Yār forgets the first three lines, but the fourth was :

“Sakal darathāri Brahmachāri Mukund.”

Akbar perceived that they were cognizant of the old affair, and questioned them about the *hōma*, and the burying of

* Tānsēn was a famous musician from Gwalior. The Khān-Khānān was 'Abdur-Rahim, the son of Bairam Khān. His mother was an Indian lady, her father being Jamāl Khan of Mewar.

† See Blochmann's translation of the Ain, p. 303, for an explanation of this game.

the copper tablet under ground. Birbal gave all the particulars, and thereupon he sent to the Tribeni, and had the saw,* etc., dug up and destroyed, lest anyone else should form the same design and become King. The author made inquiries about the tablet, and questioned Hindū Pandits about it. They produced their Shāstras, and read the whole story to him. He now copies it, but makes the proviso that the responsibility of the truth or falsehood of the story rests upon them. The story is to the effect that Akbar was, as already stated, originally a distinguished Hindū *darvesh* named Mukund, and that he had a disciple, or *chela*, called Bīran, who, on being born again, received the name of Bīrbal. Mukund engraved on a copper plate the *slok*, with the day, month, and year of his *hōma*, and also with the motive for his regeneration, and buried it in his house, and cremated himself on the top thereof. Thereafter Bīran killed himself by suppressing† his breath. Mukund was reborn in the house of Humāyūn as a king, while Bīran was reborn in the house of a Brahman, and was called Bīrbal. When Muhammad Akbar arrived at years of discretion, he frequently recited the *slok*. One day when Bīrbal was present, Akbar recited the line :

“Sakal darathārī Brahmachārī Mukund.”

Immediately Bīrbal recited the three preceding lines, and also this fourth one as follows :

VERSE.

“Bas, randhra, bān, chandra, tirtha rājab Priyāgī
Magar bahul pakhchī dāūdāshī pūrab yāmī
Nakha sikha tan hōmī sarb bhūmyānda pati
Sakal darathārī Brahmachārī Mukund.”

NOTE.

Ilāh Yār's explanation is given below, but I am unable to identify all the words. Rājab in the first line appears to be the Sanskrit *Vājya*, royal. Bahul or Bahula in the second line is given in the dictionary as meaning the dark half of a month, but it is also said to be the name of the twelfth

* At foot of p. 665 we have a description of the implement. It was not properly a saw, but was shaped like a sickle or scythe, and was a kind of guillotine.

† The effect of confining the breath being that it burst the skull.

Katā of the moon. Perhaps the word is a mistake for *bāla*, cf. *bāla chandra*, the waxing moon. Bhumyānda in the third line appears from Ilah Yār's explanation to be a misprint for bhūmikhandā, a division of the earth. Darathāri in the fourth line I am unable to explain. Perhaps it is misprinted, and should be brittdhāri, or birthāri, which might mean, abandoning subsistence. Or the last part may be āhāri from *āhar*, food and *darat* may be connected with the Sanscrit *dara*, clearing or breaking and also little. It is possible, too, that the first word may be *zurat*, *millat*, or maize. I am indebted to Professor Rhys Davids for the reference to Dr. Bühler's book and for other help, but I am responsible for the spelling of the words, etc.

The King perceived that Bīrbal knew about the former matters, and that he was the very Biran who had been his disciple. Accordingly he sent him to Arail to bring the copper-plate with the *slok* engraved on it. The translation of the *slok* is as follows :

- (1) *Bas* signifies 8.
- (2) *Randar* signifies 9 and stands for 90.
- (3) *Bān* signifies 5, and stands for 500.
- (4) *Chandar* signifies 1, and stands for 1,000.
- (5) *Tirtha* means a river worshipped by the Hindūs, such as the Ganges, Jamuna, etc.
- (6) *Rājāb* means Rājah.
- (7) *Prayāṣī* means Allahabad.

Thus the first line signifies :

In 1598 of the Vikramāditya era in the most excellent place of pilgrimage of Allahabad.

The second line signifies :

- (1) *Magar*, the month of Magh.
- (2) *Bahul*, days of the moon's increase.
- (3) *Pakhchī* means pākha, i.e., half of a month.
- (4) *Dūdāshī* means the twelfth day, according to the Hindū calendar, and the tenth according to the Muhammadan calendar, the first day of the month according to the Muhammadan reckoning being the third according to the Hindūs.
- (5) *Pūrab* signifies first.
- (6) *Yāmī* signifies one watch.

The meaning of the second line then is :

In the month of Magh, viz., the time of the sun's entering the constellation of Capricorn, which the Hindūs call Makar (or Magar), on the twelfth day at the first watch.

The third line signifies :

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Nakha</i> , i.e., nails. | (4) <i>Homī</i> , i.e., fire. |
| (2) <i>Sikha</i> , i.e., head. | (5) <i>Sarb</i> , i.e., all (surba). |
| (3) <i>Tun</i> , i.e., body. | |

Though written *sarb* it is, says the author, pronounced by the Hindūs as *saha*, and taken to mean one.

(6) *Bhumianda* (?), territory.

(7) *Pati*, Lord.

The meaning, then, of the third line is that the body (of Mukund) from the nails of his feet to the hair of his head, was cut in pieces and burnt, with the design that the owner thereof might in another life become King of a division of the earth, viz., India.

The fourth line signifies :

(1) *Sakal*, all.

(2) *Darathāri* (?) abandoning all sustenance except fruits and the like.

(3) *Brahmachārī*, ascetic.

The fourth line, then, means that Mukund was an ascetic who gave up all food except fruits and the like.

The meaning of the *slok* is that in 1598 of the Vikramaditya era in Allahabad, and on the twelfth day of the waxing moon, in the first watch, Mukund the ascetic cut his body to pieces and had it burnt in order that he might attain the sovereignty of India.

Ilāh Yār goes on to explain that 1598 Vikramaditya corresponds to 955 A.H., whereas according to historians Akbar was born on Sunday, 5 Rajab 949 A.H., and that the discrepancy of a few years may be due to the difference between lunar and solar calendars. But the fact is that the discrepancy does not exist. 949 Rajab corresponds to Kartik 1599 Vikramaditya and the difference of a few months between January-February (Magh) of 1598 and the actual birth was presumably designedly made in order to allow for the period of Akbar's gestation in the womb of Mariam-Maham Hamīda Bānū. If it was the Pandits who explained the discrepancy to Ilāh Yār, it only shows that they did not understand their own era. It seems to me probable, then, that the *slok* was not an invention of theirs, but a tradition coming down from the time of Akbar.* Indeed, it is hardly likely that any Hindu would take the trouble to make the *slok* after Akbar's death. The interest of the *slok*

* It seems likely that Birbal, whose estate lay in Karra, near Allahabad, may have had a hand in the composition.

of course lies in the proof which it gives of Akbar's congeniality with the Hindūs, and of their desire to identify him with themselves. It is not improbable that he himself may have favoured the idea set out in the *slok*. We learn from Badāoni (Blochmann's translation of the 'Ain,' 184) that Akbar had been accustomed from his youth up to celebrate the Hom sacrifice, and also (p. 180, *ib.*) that the doctrine of transmigration had taken a deep root in his heart, and that he approved of the saying, "There is no religion in which the schism of transmigration has not taken firm root."*

The *slok* is in Hindū rather than Sanscrit, and the words of the first line also give the date 1598, according to a system explained in Bühler's "Indian Palæography," p. 80.

Bas is the Sanscrit *vasir*, equal 8.

Randar is *kandhra*, meaning a fissure or opening, and as there are considered to be nine openings in the human body the word has come to stand for nine, Hindū 90.

Bān is *vāna*, or arrow, and stands for five, in allusion to the five arrows of Cupid.

Chandra is the moon, and may fitly stand for one, or for one thousand as here.

The other words of the *slok* (except *darathārī*) do not seem to present much difficulty. It would be interesting to know if the *slok* is still known in Allahabad, and if the book from which the Pandits are said to have read it is procurable.

Ilāh Yār describes the large assemblage of Hindūs which takes place in the month of Magh, when the sun enters Capricorn, and observes that the tax on the pilgrims is a considerable source of revenue. He also tells a story about Akbar's requesting Birbal to bring home a fool, and the latter's replying that one fool was a small matter, for he could, if required, bring a whole city of fools. The allusion was to old Allahabad, which was so badly situated as to be subject every year to inundation.

* See also Badāoni II., 300, for a passage translated by Rahatsek in his little book on Akbar's repudiation of Islam, p. 47, where Akbar is described as telling his foster-brother, the Khan-i-'Azam, that he had found absolute proof of the truth of metempsychosis.

THE CHÂTEAU DE RAMEZAY AT MONTREAL.*

BY MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C.

CANADA is a country which presents to the traveller a very wide range of interests. If mere sight-seeing be the aim, there is every variety of scenery—wood, water, mountain and prairie, rugged peaks and wooded slopes, broad fertile valleys and wild glens and cañyons, snows and glaciers, leaping torrents, foaming rapids, rushing streams with waters brown as those of a Scotch burn, and wide navigable rivers and lakes on which ocean and inland steamers ply. He who would study the industries of the country will find the mines, forests, and salmon fisheries of British Columbia, the horse and cattle ranches of the North-west Territory, the wheat lands of Manitoba, the farms, pastures, and lumber of Ontario and Quebec, the bountiful fisheries and coal mines of the Maritime Provinces, the fur trade of the Far North, the export of wheat and cattle, and a score of other subjects all bound up with the commercial and industrial development of the Dominion. For the man of science there is no lack of interest. In 1897 the British Association made Toronto the scene of its annual meeting. For the student of history and antiquities there would appear to be a less wide field. The existence of an extinct and prehistoric people has been traced throughout the Continent of North America, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. This people, of whom nothing is known, except what their remains reveal, has received the name of the "Mound-Builders." They are supposed to have been of the same race as the ancient people of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. The various theories held as to their origin represent them as having reached America from the east, probably from Asia, either *via* Behring Straits or the islands of the Pacific, or from the west *via* the Canaries and Antilles. When Europeans first discovered and explored North America, the only living inhabitants that they found were those to whom has been given the name of "Red Indians." Of their origin nothing is known. Their history dates from the voyages of Sebastian Cabot in 1498, Gaspard Corteréal (1501), and Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1535. The relations of these European explorers with the natives were at first friendly, so much so that an Indian chief of the country near Cape Gaspé allowed Jacques Cartier to take two of his sons back with him to France. Gaspard Corteréal, however, is said to have kidnapped fifty-seven natives, and carried them off to be sold as slaves; and on the termination of his second voyage Jacques Cartier, of whom better and wiser conduct might have been expected, lured Donnacona (the Algonquin chief, whose guest he had been all the winter at

* The authorities I have used are: "The Catalogue of the Museum of the Château de Ramezay," published by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal; F. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe;" Withrow's "History of Canada"; "The Golden Dog" (Le Chien d'or), by W. Kirby. I am indebted to Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière for information and suggestions most kindly given.

Stadacona, close to where Quebec now is) and nine of his head men on board his ships, *La Grande* and *La Petite Hermine*, and carried them off to France. There they all died. Since those days the history of the Red Indians has been one of perpetual warfare with the "white man." The barbarities which they perpetrated on the early Jesuits and settlers, and their ruthless massacres and tortures of French and English troops and colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been atoned for by their subsequent gradual decimation and complete subjection in the nineteenth. In these days they are located on "Reserves," the pensioners of the Canadian Government. They want the energy, industry, and ambition to enable them to support themselves. Efforts are made to inculcate in them habits of thrift and agricultural, pastoral, or manufacturing industry. In vain. To hunt and fight is their conception of the whole duty of man. Modern conditions of life permit of their doing the one but little, and the other not at all. The buffalo, by which they once lived, is extinct, except a small herd preserved in the National Park, near Banff, N.W. Territory, for the care of which provision has been made by the Dominion Government. There is seemingly no future before the Red Indians but that of extinction or absorption.* It is partly, no doubt, the realization of this that has prompted the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal to lay the foundation of a collection of Indian antiquities in the Château de Ramezay. There are there three cases containing specimens of these antiquities, as also some of the "Mound-Builders" period. There are also other interesting relics, such as (1) the dagger of Tecumseh, the chief who rendered such able service on the Canadian side in the war of 1812-14; (2) the barrel-organ presented by George III. to Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), the celebrated chief of the Six Nations, whose sister, "Molly Brant," married Colonel Sir William Johnson, who more than any other man in the North American States in the middle of the eighteenth century held the Red Indians of the border true to British interests. Sir William had a son, Sir John, who was evidently one of the United Empire Loyalists, for after the Revolutionary War he settled in Montreal. He became Superintendent of Indian affairs under the Government of Canada, and a member of the Legislative Council. He died in 1830. Both his portrait and that of Thayendanegea, his great-uncle, are to be seen in this museum. That of his more famous father, Sir William, a gentleman of Irish family, and a settler in the State of New York, is not seemingly to be found in the gallery. That a portrait of him exists may be inferred from the engraving in Withrow's History. The British power in North America owes to his influence with the Iroquois, or Indians of the Six Nations, what the Indian Government owes to that of Colonel Sir Robert Warburton with the Afridis. Sir William Johnson was adopted by the Mohawks as a member of their tribe, and chosen as one of their great sachems.

The history of Canada that is destined to live is that of its earliest

* In the late war with Spain the U.S. Government organized a corps of "Rough-riders," two or three troops of which are said to have been composed of Red Indians. The same might be done in Canada.

explorers and colonists, amongst whom the French rank first, and the English second. One of the most interesting monuments of that history is the *Château de Ramezay* in Montreal, of which I propose to record here what little I have been able to learn during a short visit to Canada. It was built about 1705 by Claude de Ramezay, "a distinguished soldier of noble birth," who was Governor of Montreal from 1703 to 1724. In some books I find the name spelt Ramsay or Ramesay, but Ramezay is the spelling adopted by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. It is practically certain that the Governor of Montreal who bore the name was of Scotch extraction. It appears that there are De Ramsays now resident in or near Montreal, and I am informed that some members of the family from France recently visited that city, attracted by the interest attaching to the house which their "forebear" had built and for twenty years inhabited, and by the desire to see something of the country in the history of which he and others of the same name had borne a prominent part. The name is said to be now spelt Ramsay, after the good old Scotch fashion. In the seventeenth century the cadets of many families of the French nobility emigrated to Canada ("*La Nouvelle France*," as it was then called), while the nominal Viceroyalty was held by several of the highest nobles of the land, viz., the Prince de Condé, Duc de Montmorenci, and Duc de Ventadour. The emigrant nobles were granted seigneuries in various parts of New France, and in some cases these seigneuries have remained in their families to the present day. The *Château de Ramezay* is the town mansion of one of these seigneurial families. Very little, however, seems to be known of Claude de Ramezay. An autograph letter of his, presented by Judge Baby, is in the museum. In 1703 the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commandant of Montreal, succeeded the Chevalier de Callière (who had also in his day been Governor or Commandant of Montreal) as Governor of Canada. Claude de Ramezay apparently succeeded De Vaudreuil as Military Governor of Montreal. He appears to have been a man of capacity, and to have interested himself keenly in the pioneering and exploring work to which so many men at that time devoted themselves. In 1702, during his Governorship, a French post was established at Detroit, and in 1717 another at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, on Lake Superior, where Fort William now is. Nor was M. de Ramezay backward in organizing military expeditions against the English settlements in the New England States. During the whole of De Ramezay's Governorship the English and French colonies in America were at war, as indeed they almost always were, whether the mother-countries were at peace or not. In the winter of 1703-4, and again in 1708, a certain M. Hertel de Rouville led expeditions from Montreal, composed of French and Indians combined, against the New England settlements. The villages of Durfield and Haverhill were the victims. The attacks were made in the night-time, or just before daybreak. Those who were not killed in the onslaught were carried off as prisoners. Terrible stories are told of the barbarities committed in these two raids, but the truth of them is contested. It is, however, certain that the Indians would show no mercy, except in so far as the French could restrain them. We can all understand what that means in

an attack on a dark Canadian winter's night. The fact, however, remains that many of the inhabitants of Durfield, if not of Haverhill also, were carried prisoners to Montreal and settled near there. Their posterity are there still. The British Governors of the New England settlements remonstrated in terms of indignation against these butcheries, but the revenge that the British troops and settlers took was scarcely less savage. The Indians fought on either side—the Abenakis, Hurons, Algonquins, Nipissings, and Illinois on that of the French; the Iroquois on that of the English. The atrocities that the Indians committed, and which the French and English commanders, much as they may have loathed them, could not prevent, fill us as we read them in these days with perfect horror. It seems incredible that men could be such fiends, and that human nature could bear such torture and yet live, as the victims did for hours and even days.* The Iroquois combined much diplomatic astuteness with their prowess as warriors and cunning as woodsmen. They felt that they held the balance between the English and the French, and although as a rule friendly to the English, did not throw in their lot absolutely with them. Whenever they thought fit, they would make temporary truces or treaties with the French without consulting the English, whose allies they nominally were. Peace made on these terms was broken on the first opportunity. *Ça va sans dire.*

The Governorship of Claude de Ramezay is said to have ended in 1724, whether owing to his death or retirement we are not told. In 1745 the château passed into the hands of "La Compagnie des Indes," and remained with them till September, 1760, when Montreal surrendered to the united forces of Amherst, Haviland, and Murray. We are not told what use was made of the château from 1724 to 1745. Tradition associates with the château the name of De Vaudreuil, one celebrated in the annals of "La Nouvelle France," but it is not explicit as to date, or indeed any detail. The first Marquis de Vaudreuil, after having been for some years Commandant of Montreal, became Governor of Canada in 1703, and retained that post until he died, respected and regretted, in 1725. The second Marquis de Vaudreuil assumed the Governorship of Canada in 1754 or 1755. He was a man of seemingly honest purpose, but fell, according to Parkman's narrative, under the influence of the unscrupulous Intendant Bigot, who did his best to foster rivalry and jealousy between him and Montcalm. The result was fatal to France, but for that Bigot cared nothing. De Vaudreuil's jealousy often thwarted Montcalm's best efforts for the welfare of La Nouvelle France. This Marquis de Vaudreuil, together with Bigot and others, was, on his return to France, thrown into the Bastille. When brought to trial, he was honourably acquitted. He had served France for fifty-six years as Governor successively of Three Rivers, Louisiana, and Canada, and is said to have

* The Chevalier de Lévis, next to Montcalm, the foremost French soldier in Canada in the middle of the 18th century, said, in justification of the employment of the Indians in the fierce fighting between the French and English colonists in North America, that the Indian was as necessary to the forest warfare of the West as light cavalry (*cavalerie légère*) to campaigning in Europe.

returned to France impoverished by his efforts to promote the welfare of the colonies under his rule. The error of judgment that made him the dupe or accomplice of Bigot and the rival of Montcalm probably caused France the loss of Canada.

It is said that when Claude de Ramezay died (no date given) his heirs found themselves unable to bear the expense of keeping up so large a residence, and sold it to "*La Compagnie des Indes*."* From 1745 to 1760 it was thus the headquarters of a great French trading company, the resort of Indian *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, coming in from the north and west with their loads of furs, and selling or bartering them to the agents of the company, by whom they were shipped to France. This company also held by charter a monopoly in the purchase and sale of all imports and exports in the colony. When Canada passed into the possession of Great Britain, in 1760, the Château de Ramezay became General Amherst's headquarters, and subsequently for a short time those of General Gage. We find from Withrow's History that it was a De Ramsay (as Withrow spells it) who surrendered Quebec to General Townshend after Wolfe's victory on the Heights of Abraham. There was no absolute necessity for surrendering Quebec. De Bougainville was at Cap Rouge, and De Vaudreuil at Beauport, each with a force of from 1,500 to 2,000 men. De Lévis, who was a General of energy and ability, had been at once summoned from Montreal by the Governor of Canada (De Vaudreuil) to take up the command of the French forces *vice* Montcalm, who had died of the wounds received on the Plains of Abraham during the night that followed Wolfe's victory. De Lévis wrote to De Ramsay to hold out to the last, promising him prompt support and relief. Meanwhile, De Bougainville and De Vaudreuil, the one in rear and the other in front of General Townshend's besieging force on the Heights of Abraham, appear to have done absolutely nothing, although they had it in their power, if not to attack, at any rate to harry the British camp and position. On the 18th of September, five days after Wolfe's victory, De Ramsay surrendered. He cannot have been a man of much strength of character, for in Montcalm's last moments he must needs appeal to him for counsel regarding the defence of Quebec. Montcalm begged him to leave him alone and in peace. "I have given my whole life to my country, and would give my last moments to God," he said. "To your keeping I leave the honour of France." De Lévis, had he been there, might have saved both that honour and Quebec; but in the hands of the triumvirate, De Vaudreuil, De Bougainville, and De Ramsay, there was small hope for either.

When Canada was ceded to the British, the Château de Ramezay was not at first annexed as the residence of the Governor of Montreal. It was purchased from the "*Compagnie des Indes*" by William Grant, Baron de

* Familiarly known as "*La Grande Compagnie*," and popularly termed "*La Friponne*." Its headquarters were at Quebec, in the hands of Messieurs Bigot, Varin, Cadet, De Péarn, and others. To those who are indisposed to study books of a purely historical character, it may be interesting to know that in the well-written romances, entitled "*The Golden Dog*," by W. Kirby, and "*The Seats of the Mighty*," by Gilbert Parker, they will find accurate pictures of men, manners, and life in Canada from 1745 to 1760. The characters introduced are historical, and the events are based on fact.

Longueuil.* It is doubtful if the Grants ever occupied the château, for it continued to be known for some ten years after the cession by the name of the "Indian House." The Government of Canada then, finding it necessary to provide the Lieutenant-Governor with a suitable residence, leased it. The first Lieutenant-Governor who tenanted it was Mr. Cramahé. He had scarcely settled there when the approach of General Montgomery, in November, 1775, with a force of New England Revolutionists compelled him to vacate it and retire to Quebec. There, pending the arrival of General Sir Guy Carleton, he made energetic preparations for the defence of Quebec, and declined to give any answer to Benedict Arnold's summons to surrender, which was made on the 14th of October. On the 19th Sir Guy Carleton arrived, and assumed command of the defence. It was on the 12th of November, 1775, that General Montgomery entered Montreal, and on the 4th of December his forces, and those of Arnold, about 1,200 men in all, appeared before Quebec. Montgomery was slain in a vain attempt to capture the town on the night of the 31st December, 1775. Quebec was not then fortified as it is now. (The existing fortifications were constructed at a very heavy cost under the orders of the Great Duke about sixty-five years ago.) The defences that separated the Upper from the Lower Town were but weak. They were approached by a street now known as Mountain Hill, and by a steep flight of steps, which has since disappeared. The foot of Mountain Hill was approached from the east and west by narrow streets through the Lower Town under the cliff. These streets were barricaded and held by a small number of British troops. In the barricade facing west, against which Montgomery with 500 or 600 men advanced, were two guns charged with grape. When the defenders saw the attacking column advancing over the snow, they discharged the two guns and swept away the head of the column, including General Montgomery and some of his staff. His force, left without a leader, then retreated. Meanwhile, Arnold with his column was pressing hard on the defenders of the barricaded street on the other side, and slowly forcing them back to the foot of Mountain Hill. Montgomery's death saved Quebec. Had his column succeeded, Arnold and Montgomery combined would in all probability have forced the defences of the Upper Town, and the only city then left in the hand of the British in Canada would have fallen. Had this happened, possibly the Dominion of Canada would never have come into existence. Both England and the Dominion owe much to this determined defence of Quebec.

On the cliff above the spot where Montgomery fell, bravely leading his men on through a snowstorm, a tablet has been placed; and inserted in the walls of the city, near the Gate of St. Louis, is an inscription put up to his memory by "a few American children." French, English, and Americans have all alike contributed to make the history of Quebec, and that fact is to-day recognised in the monuments that honour and commemorate side by side the names of brave men of all three nations, Montcalm and Wolfe, De Lévis and Murray, Champlain and Montgomery.

* The Grants, Barons de Longueuil, hold the only Colonial peerage in the British Empire. Their barony, though created by the Bourbons, is held in right of their domain in Canada, and as such is now recognised by the Herald's office.

On the 31st of December, 1875, under the auspices of Colonel T. B. Strange, R.A., then commanding the Canadian artillery, a ball was given in the citadel of Quebec to commemorate the centenary of the repulse of Arnold and Montgomery's attack. Colonel Strange and all the officers appeared in the uniform of 1775. At the stroke of midnight a cupboard-door in the ball-room flew open and a boy-bugler jumped out and blew the call to arms. At the same time the heavy tramp of soldiers was heard coming down the long corridor. In marched a sergeant's guard in the uniform of 1775. Colonel Strange and his officers advanced to meet them, while all the guests crowded in from every side. Verses suitable to, and commemorative of, the occasion were then recited by the officer of the guard, and replied to (also in verse) by Colonel Strange, the author of the verses. The guard then withdrew. It was a romantic and impressive *coup de théâtre*. Discharges of blank from the guns on the ramparts added to the effect. The memory of Colonel (now Major-General) T. B. Strange is still respected and cherished in Quebec for the humanity and courage with which, at the risk of his life, he quieted several serious riots which took place in the town during the period of his command.

Arnold, after his repulse and Montgomery's death, remained inactive in camp before Quebec. A M. de Beaujeu (a descendant of the De Beaujeu who defeated Braddock's force at Monongahela in 1755*), with 350 loyal French Canadians, made a sortie and attacked Arnold's camp. The attack was repulsed with loss. Finally, early in May, 1776, the Americans were driven from before Quebec, leaving guns, stores, provisions, and even their sick behind. Meanwhile, three American Commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, came to Montreal to urge the Canadians to join the revolted colonies against Great Britain. The Marquis de La Fayette was the foremost of the foreign European officers who gave his services in aid of the North American Revolutionists. He did his best to draw the French Canadians from their allegiance to Great Britain. They, however, showed no inclination to fight side by side in revolt with the men whose sworn enemies they and their ancestors had been for a full century. Moreover, the Quebec Act of 1774 had won for the British Government their gratitude and goodwill. They declined to accede to the overtures of de La Fayette. His exasperation found vent in the parting words, "Vous êtes un troupeau de moutons." Benjamin Franklin certainly, if not the other two Commissioners, resided when in Montreal in the Château de Ramezay, and here† a certain M. Mesplet,

* It is a curious coincidence that at Monongahela De Beaujeu was killed and Braddock died of his wounds; while at Quebec in 1759 Wolfe was killed and Montcalm died of his wounds. Of the two last one monument, erected on the site of the old Château de St. Louis, at Quebec, now commemorates the death and the fame.

† I possess (among other photographs of this château) one that shows the vault in which this printing press was worked. The vehicle in the picture is locally known as a caleche, and is said to be 150 years old. It is in excellent condition, the leather straps on which the body is hung looking as sound as the day they were made. The spokes of the wheels trend or curve outwards from the hub to the tire, so that the wheel is in shape slightly concave. A similar vehicle still bearing the name of caleche (vulgo "calash") is in use to this day in Quebec.

under the orders of Benjamin Franklin, set up the first printing press in Montreal. The first printing press in Canada was set up in Quebec in 1764, and on the 21st of June of that year the first number of the "Quebec Gazette," a journal which till recently was still published, made its appearance. Benedict Arnold, after his failure at Quebec, went to Montreal and took command of the revolutionary troops there. He resided in the Château de Ramezay. By June, 1776, General Burgoyne had arrived at Quebec with 10,000 men, and Brigadier-General Frazer had routed the Americans at Three Rivers. Arnold then found it necessary to withdraw with his troops from Montreal to Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Thus ended the invasion of Canada by the revolutionary forces. Among those who joined and reinforced Sir Guy Carleton in the spring of 1776 was Colonel Barry St. Leger, in command of the 34th Foot. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and in the spring of 1777 started to co-operate with General Burgoyne in his invasion of New York State. As is known, the enterprise ended in the surrender of General Burgoyne and 6,000 men at Saratoga. On 21st October, 1782, Colonel Barry St. Leger was appointed to a brigade in the Army in Canada, "his command consisting of the troops on the Island of Montreal, Isle of Jesus, Miller Island as far as Côteau du Lac upon the north, and from thence to La Prairie exclusive on the south side of the River St. Lawrence."⁶ He was Commandant of the King's Forces in Canada in 1784, his headquarters being at Montreal, in the Château de Ramezay. It is of an old Irish private of St. Leger's regiment (the 34th), named Darby Monaghan, that the story is told on which is founded Charles Lever's humorous scene in "Jack Hinton" of the knighthood of Sir Corney Delaney.

After the withdrawal of the Americans the Château de Ramezay remained untenanted until the Government bought it from the Grants, and made it the official residence of the Governors of Lower Canada temporarily resident in Montreal. Their permanent residence was at Quebec, and for years the Governors, when they visited Montreal, had to bring their own furniture with them. At last, however, a grant of money was voted to them for the purchase of permanent furniture for their Montreal residence. For half a century it was occupied by successive Governors, who made many alterations and additions. Lord Metcalfe (1843-44) was the last resident Governor, the seat of government between the years 1841 to 1858 being fixed successively at Quebec, Kingston, Montreal, then at Toronto and Quebec alternately, and finally, by Her Majesty's decision, at Ottawa, where it has since remained.

The union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was formally proclaimed on the 10th of February, 1841. After the establishment of the Governor-General in a new Government House, and again, when the headquarters of the provincial government of the Lower Province was transferred to Quebec, the Château de Ramezay was used for various governmental purposes. Among others, the Law Courts sat there, and afterwards certain rooms were used for classes of the Normal School and of the Medical

* *Vide* "Historical Reminiscences of the Château de Ramezay," *Quebec Daily Telegraph* of November 27, 1897.

Faculty of Laval. The extensive vaults and cellars below the house had in the 18th century been used by the French as store-houses for the large quantities of supplies which, owing to the hostility of the Indians, it was necessary to maintain there. So incessant were at times the raids of the Iroquois, whether instigated by the New England Government or not, that cultivation was almost an impossibility, and all food supplies had to be imported from France and stored in Montreal. Some of the vaults also were used as dungeons, and at times refractory Indian chiefs were probably incarcerated there to give them time to see reason; while in some cases they were detained as hostages for the good faith of their tribe. There was also a deep well in one vault, now boarded over. Under the English Governors, these vaults were used as wine-cellars, servants' offices, and quarters for the Governor's guard, for the preservation of the old French and English official and other records, and for the storage of fuel and supplies. In one vault we still find the kitchen. The huge fireplace was fitted up above with an arrangement for smoking ham and bacon, while on one side opened a large oven, about 5 feet in diameter, for baking bread. In a recess close by was hung a drum, in which worked, like a squirrel in a cage, the turnspit-dog that roasted the joints. In the corner of another vault still lies a portion of the first system of water-pipes used in Montreal. It is the trunk of a tree, 10 or 12 feet long, by 9 or 10 inches in diameter, hollowed out. The walls of the vaults are in some places of great thickness, ranging from 5 to 8 feet. In the early part of the 18th century, when a good house was built, it was solidly built. It is stated that some fifty years ago, soon after the château ceased to be the residence of the Governors, the City Council authorized the demolition of a portion of it, in order to open up a thoroughfare. The building was thus cut in two. The portion which is now used as the museum was retained by the civic authorities. The remainder was turned into a hotel, in which Jenny Lind and Charles Dickens, amongst others, are said to have stayed. Between 1880 and 1890 the City Magistrates of Montreal meted out justice for petty misdemeanours in this building. Rooms which had been tenanted by a Governor-General, and which for 140 years had been the centre of the French and British rule in Montreal thus gradually sank to the level of a police magistrate's court. About this time, however, public attention was drawn to this building (largely owing to the exertions of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal) and to its antiquarian and historical interest. When, in 1893, the Provincial Government offered it for sale by public auction, it was bought by the Corporation of the City of Montreal with the view of preserving the building and establishing in it a free public archæological, scientific, and historical museum. In 1895 the custody of the château, on behalf of the people of the city, was vested in the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. The château is, as before stated, very solidly built, and, preserved as it will be for the future, and protected as it has been from the risks of fire by the introduction of fire-proof flooring, ought to have before it a long life as a memorial of the past history of Montreal and Lower Canada, and as a museum of their records and antiquities. Here also at the present day the descendants

of the United Empire Loyalists, *i.e.*, those American colonists who not only refused to bear any part in the Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783 against the mother country, but also, many of them, took up arms in her support, hold their monthly meetings. These meetings perpetuate the memory of the loyalty and the sufferings of those who forfeited their homes and their fortunes, in short their all, rather than fight against the country from which they or their forefathers had emigrated to the New England and Southern States. These men, with their families, moved from the States to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Upper and Lower Canada, where free grants of land were assigned to them. Moreover, the British Parliament voted £3,300,000 for their indemnification and support. Their number is estimated at 25,000. During the War of Independence the condition of those who remained in the States had been far from enviable. Regarded as traitors by the revolutionists, they were exposed to insult, to loss of property, and to danger to the lives of themselves and their families. They are men whose fidelity should be remembered to this day and to all time with pride and gratitude by every Briton, and their descendants do well to perpetuate the memory of their courage and loyalty by joining the United Empire Association. It was in the Château de Ramezay that met from 1838 to 1840 the Special Council (half English and half French) which was appointed by the Home Government to act in place of the legislature of Lower Canada during the Rebellion and so-called "Patriotic War" of 1837-38. The Constitution was for the time suspended. The Special Council paved the way for the Act of Union of 1840, which was a step towards the present Constitution of the Dominion. The Confederation of 1866 was the final step.

Two of the principal rooms in the Château are now known as the "Salle du Conseil" and the Library. With the former tradition associates many names (already mentioned) well known to history, and on whom the varying fortunes of Canada have depended. Its walls are now hung with engravings and documents that commemorate those names and those fortunes. The old fireplace in the Library has only recently been discovered, having been walled up for many years. The treasures that have already been collected in this, the first Canadian Museum of Antiquities, are most interesting and valuable, and some are unique. There are 113 portraits, 82 historical pictures, and 74 old prints, which illustrate the most celebrated names and the most famous scenes and events of Canadian history, from Jacques Cartier to Sir John Macdonald. Early explorers, Jesuit missionaries, governors and generals, both French and English; old maps and prints of Canada, Quebec, and Montreal, battle scenes, etc., are the subjects. In addition there is a collection of scarce books, papers, documents and magazines connected with Canada, weapons of the 17th and 18th centuries, and many quaint and curious relics both of war and peace. The supplement of these may be sought in the treasures of the Laval University, the Basilica, the Seminary, and the Ursuline Convent of Quebec. Very recently in support of a charity some residents of Quebec, aided by a few contributors from Montreal, lent their most valuable paintings and other

artistic and historical possessions to form an Art Exhibition. It formed a corollary to the collection of the Château de Ramezay. Specimens of the finest English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch masters are to be found in Quebec and Montreal, especially in Quebec. Many of these were brought over by the refugees during the Reign of Terror. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has been in existence for over three-quarters of a century, and on the list of its members are found the names of the Governors General, Commanders of the Forces, and of nearly all the men who have distinguished themselves in Canada during that long period. Its records will be found a source of valuable information open to all those who seek for knowledge concerning the history and the varied resources of Canada.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE Council of the East India Association submit their Report for the year 1898-99. The past season has been one of some activity, and the Association has been able to place before its members and the general public papers and discussions of exceptional interest. The last lecture of the season which was to have been delivered during the present month by Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi on the Jain Religion, which was expected with much interest, has unfortunately been indefinitely postponed owing to the absence from England of the distinguished lecturer.

The Association has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., who had been a most active member for the last 25 years. His great attainments and his distinguished services in almost every branch of Oriental learning have been recognised by the scientific and literary world and English and foreign Governments. In the East India Association he took the warmest and most constant interest, and the Council feel that there is no one who can adequately fill his place or sustain and animate its discussions with the same wealth of knowledge on all difficult problems of Oriental and especially Muhammadan sociology, ethnology, law, language and sentiment. His enthusiasm and untiring energy were always at the service of our Association. For some years the proceedings of the Association, with addresses and discussions delivered before it, have been published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which he owned and edited, with good results both to the Association and the *Review*, which, under his control, has risen to the highest rank as an authoritative and liberal exponent of the best opinions on all questions relating to the Eastern world. The Council has already conveyed to Mrs. Leitner and the family an expression of their profound regret at her husband's death and their high appreciation of his character and services, and they are glad to understand that there is a firm resolve to continue and indeed largely increase the influence and area of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which will continue to be the official record of the proceedings of the Association.

During the past year several questions of importance have been considered and discussed, and several papers of great interest read before large and appreciative audiences. One burning question still under discussion is the treatment of Indian emigrants in the British South African colonies and in the Transvaal. With regard to the first part of the subject, our last annual report showed that the Association, after full inquiry, and after the delivery of a lecture before it by Mr. Robert Cust on the grievances of British Indian Immigrants in Natal, had taken every step to bring the disabilities under which Indians suffered, and the grievances of which they most justly complained, under the notice of the Secretary of State and the

Governor-General in Council. The representations then made have not been successful, and before renewing them with the Governor-General recently appointed, it was thought desirable to allow him some time to become familiar with Indian questions and politics. It is now proposed to address him and urge the desirability of reconsidering the rules which facilitate the immigration of Indian British subjects to South Africa, restricting or prohibiting such immigration till such time as just and equal treatment is accorded to Indian merchants and traders. With regard to the Transvaal, the Association have not felt it incumbent upon them to take immediate action. It seems certain that the treatment of British Indian subjects in the Transvaal is harsh and unjust in the extreme; but these grievances are more or less shared by the whole Uitlander population, and their redress is in the hands of H.M. Government. Nor does it seem appropriate to agitate for the removal of disabilities on Indians in foreign territory while those in British territory remain unredressed. When British colonies have removed the grievances of their Indian fellow-subjects we shall have a much stronger reason to urge their redress elsewhere.

In accordance with the request of the Associated Chambers of Commerce a deputation, consisting of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., and Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, was appointed to join that of the Chambers of Commerce in an interview with the Marquis of Salisbury on the Railway Connection of India and China.

The Chairman of the Council was also invited to attend and speak at a Conference in a Committee-room of the House of Commons on the question of Ocean Telegraphs, a discussion on which was raised by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P.

The most interesting event connected with the meetings of the Association was the first public appearance of the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, who took the chair on the occasion of a paper read by Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., on the India Famine Report of 1899, and made two most interesting speeches, in which he explained and justified his famine policy, and expressed the warm acknowledgments of the people of India for the help and sympathy extended to them by the people of England.

Another address to the Association deserving special mention was delivered by the Honble. John Barrett, United States Consul-General at Bangkok, on Siam and Her Neighbours. This lecture was a little outside the ordinary routine of the Association's work; but it was explained by the Chairman, and the policy has been endorsed by the Council, that the connection of India with other countries in the East, such as Persia, Afghanistan, China and Siam, has now become so intimate that it was desirable to occasionally extend the area of the Association proceedings and invite lectures on such countries when it was evident that Indian policy or interests were directly involved.

Other lecturers of reputation and exceptional knowledge who addressed meetings of the Association during the past season were Colonel R. C. Temple, C.I.E., on "The Development of Currency in the Far East," with Lord Reay in the chair; Sir Charles Roe, on "Tribes and the Land in the

Punjab," with Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair; Mr. C. W. Whish, on "Reform in the Police Administration of India," with Lord Reay in the chair; Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., on "The Codification of the Personal Laws of the Natives of India," with Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

The question of the formation of agricultural banks was discussed by the Council in connection with a scheme propounded by Mr. Alexander Rogers, C.S., and it was ultimately resolved that, although they would gladly see agricultural banks experimentally started in suitable districts on the general lines laid down by Mr. Rogers, they did not see their way to take any practical action to give effect to the scheme.

The question of the disqualification of retired civilians for appointments to such posts under the Indian Administration as were open to English barristers and others unconnected with the Civil Service was discussed, but the matter was considered to be of too special a character to be submitted to public discussion in an open meeting of the Association.

The subject of reforms in the police administration in connection with Mr. Whish's paper was also discussed by the Council.

Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., and Sir Charles Roe have been elected members of Council of the Association.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held on July 17, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presiding, and there were present, among others, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P.; Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C.; Mr. Lesley Probyn; Mr. P. M. Pait, F.R.G.S.; Mr. A. H. Wilson; Mr. Brij Behari Lal Bisya; Mr. M. Abdullah Shah; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. Martin Wood; and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon.

The Right Hon. Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected vice-president. The retiring members of the Council were re-elected, and the appointments of Sir Charles Roe and Sir William Rattigan as members of the Council were confirmed.

The Hon. Frederick Verney, of the Siamese Legation, proposed by the chairman, was elected a member of the Association; and, on the proposal of Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. Dossabhai Nusserwanji Chenoz, of Hyderabad Deccan, was also elected a member of the Association.

The CHAIRMAN, Sir Lepel Griffin, in opening the proceedings, said that, as the meeting was of a formal character to adopt the report and accounts, and elect the officers of the Association for the coming year, he would only make a few observations to supplement the report which expressed the views of the Council generally on the events of the past year. In the first place, he would express the acknowledgments of the Association to their distinguished president, Lord Reay, who had, at personal inconvenience to himself, taken great and constant interest in their affairs, and was always ready to preside at their public meetings, where his interesting, scholarly, and eloquent speeches had added value and attraction to their gatherings. The expectations which the Association had formed of Lord Reay when

he consented to accept the office of president had been most fully realized. He would further congratulate the Association on having added to the Council two distinguished men, Sir Charles Roe and Sir William Rattigan, who were prepared to give their time to the service of the Association. Sir Charles Roe had already delivered a very interesting lecture before them, and Sir William Rattigan was now investigating the somewhat obscure question of their Indian trusts, and had made suggestions which he hoped when carried out would result in a satisfactory conclusion of a matter which had caused them much anxiety and trouble.

The Chairman desired, in addition to the collective opinion of the Council which had been expressed in the report, to add his personal expression of grief at the loss the Association had sustained in the death of Dr. Leitner, who had been his close and intimate friend for many years. When Dr. Leitner first came to the Punjab, the Chairman was associated with him in all his schemes for educational and social progress, and took a large part in founding the Punjab University, the idea of which was Dr. Leitner's, and its success chiefly due to his earnest and untiring efforts and great organizing power. No one who was not in intimate relations with Dr. Leitner could have any idea of his immense energy, his enthusiasm for all good and worthy objects, and his love and devotion for the people of India, which was returned by them with a confidence and esteem which were rarely shown by Indians to any European. It might truly be said that his intellectual labours for the good of India, and in the interests of Oriental science, caused his premature death, which was so much lamented by the Association, a loss which was felt to be irreparable.

On the next subject mentioned in the report, the grievances of Indian British subjects in the Transvaal, and in the South African colonies of England, the Chairman observed that the attitude of the Council had been that it was illogical to attempt to remove the mote from our neighbour's eye until we had taken the beam out of our own. He did not mean to imply that the injury and degradation which Indian merchants suffered in the Transvaal were not more severe than in Natal and other British districts; but the British Administration had higher aims and a higher standard of civilization than that of the Transvaal, and our first efforts must be to obtain for Indians in British colonies the rights which belonged to all honest, loyal, and well-conducted subjects of Her Majesty. The Association considered the matter one of the highest importance, and were preparing a reference to the Indian Government embodying the arguments and suggestions which had already received the general adhesion of the Association.

Although the year under review had not been an exciting one, the Chairman thought that a perusal of the report would show that it had been neither undignified nor unfruitful, that a good deal of work had been done, and that the Association had been able to place distinguished lecturers and subjects of interest and value before the members and the public. Much still remained to be done, and he trusted the Council and the general body of members would continue to exert themselves in furthering the objects of the Association, and in obtaining new members. He considered

it a special honour for the Association that the late Viceroy, the Earl of Elgin, should have chosen one of their meetings at which to make his first public utterances of great interest on his return to England, and he trusted that ere long he might be included in the number of their vice-presidents. An invitation to join that distinguished body had been made to H.H. the Maharaja of Durbhanga, as it was felt that it was most desirable to obtain the name and co-operation of one of the princes of Bengal.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, said he wished to draw the attention of the members of the Association, and of the British public at large, to the especial value and importance of the functions of the Association just at the present time.

We are all aware that the Government, on the report of the Currency Commission, are about to take measures which, whatever other effects they may have on the interests and well-being of India—and personally he thought they will be altogether beneficial—will, at any rate, have this momentous result: that they will do away, once and for ever, with that one great terror of Indian financiers and English investors—the Exchange demon.

Now, it is obvious that this must mean the beginning of a new era in the development of the resources of India, and of the financial relations between England and India. The one great bar to the free use in India of unlimited amounts of English capital will be swept away at one blow; and those who are acquainted with the vast resources of India still undeveloped, and almost untouched by reason of this bar, will best be able to foresee the immense commercial and industrial changes on the threshold of which we now stand in India. Our Association is instituted "for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." We are the only Association in England that attempts to deal with the political and commercial or industrial aspects of Indian questions, and to bring those aspects before the British public with the aid of local knowledge and experience. He ventured to submit, therefore, that such a crisis, such a commercial revolution, as that with which we are this year brought face to face in India, will impose on this Association responsibilities such as it has never borne before. More responsibilities will deserve and demand the closest attention from the office-bearers and members of the Society, and will, he hoped, largely increase its influence and authority as the exponent of instructed and expert Indian opinion.

MR. LESLEY PROBYN moved a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for the zeal and ability he had shown in the interests of the Association.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, November 24, a paper was read by Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., on "The Mogul, Mahratta, and Sikh Empires in their Zenith and Fall." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided. The following, among others, were present: Lady Rattigan; Surgeon-General Penny, M.D.; Colonel A. T. Fraser; Colonel Seddon; Captain and Mrs. Brander; Captain Seddon; Lieutenant H. C. Macdonald; Mr. William Hanbury

Aggs; Shaikh Mohad Akbar; Mrs. C. W. Arathoon and the Misses Arathoon; Mr. Reginald Brown, Q.C.; Mr. C. Bulnois; Miss Bulnois; Mr. J. Bowden; Surendra Nath Chandra; Bhupendra Nath Chowdhry; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. T. J. Desai; Mr. R. W. Frazer; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. J. Harding; Mr. E. Horritz; Miss Hughes; Mr. B. Kureshi; Mr. Louis; Mrs. C. C. Macdonald; Mr. M. G. Harriot; Mr. C. G. Master; Mr. Syed Alay Mohamed; Mr. Guru Das Nanda; Mr. K. Narain; Mr. P. Justin O'Byrne; Mr. John Parkinson; Mr. Ebrahim M. Patail; Mr. Sundar Dass Pasrisha; Mrs. Peile; Mr. J. B. Pennington (retired M.C.S.); Mr. Gulla Ram; Mr. Bhai G. Singh; Mr. K. Harnam Singh; Mr. Alfred Inman; Mr. Beverley G. Ussher.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman took occasion to invite the native gentlemen present, and others, who were studying at the Universities or Inns of Court, to become members of the East India Association, which was a progressive, and not an old-world Conservative association, but one which tried to be in the forefront of the times.

Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., then read his paper. (See page 1.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am expected, as Chairman, to say a few words on the eloquent lecture which we have just heard; but it is somewhat difficult, without having had the opportunity of carefully reading so elaborate a paper beforehand, to make any remarks on it which are worthy of your acceptance, and I would accordingly only make one or two observations which seem obviously natural deductions to draw. I would express my acquiescence in almost everything which our lecturer has so well said. In his really eloquent eulogy of the Emperor Akbar, I think almost everyone who is at all familiar with Indian history must agree. But I would go further, and say that we, living in this remote end of the nineteenth century, can hardly compare the practice and procedure of monarchs who lived three hundred years ago with our elaborate and complicated machinery of to-day. We must judge Akbar by the time in which he lived, and I venture to say before this mixed company of Indian and English ladies and gentlemen that there was no contemporary prince in Europe who could compare in ability and genius with the Emperor Akbar. Nor do I really think it would be an exaggeration to say that history contains no name more illustrious than that of that great emperor. From every point of view he was a man of the very highest distinction. I see here a gentleman who is a distinguished writer on Muhammadan subjects, and I will say no more on this particular point. I shall ask Moulvie Ruffi-uddin, whose articles I have read in the *Nineteenth Century* with the greatest pleasure, to say a few words on the subject.

I should like to mention one or two matters relating to other heads of our lecturer's paper. With regard to Mahrattas I will not say much. I have had much to do with Mahrattas, and the two great reigning sovereigns of that race—Holkar and Scindia—I have had the great honour, under the orders of the British Government, of myself placing on their respective thrones, and I have been many years in diplomatic connection with the great Mahratta States; but looking at the fugitive names of Mahratta princes, I can see nothing in them which compares in interest and import-

ance with a name so world-known and illustrious as that of Akbar. With regard to Maharajah Ranjit Singh, I must say our lecturer has not given a very attractive picture. On Sikh history the native gentlemen present will perhaps allow that I have some right to speak with authority, as I, perhaps, have written more on the subject of Sikh history than any other Englishman, at any rate, living to-day. Maharajah Ranjit Singh was not altogether an attractive personality, but I trust that in the work on this great Maharajah which I wrote for the University of Oxford I have done justice to his great qualities. No one wishes to place Ranjit Singh on an ethical pedestal, but he was above all things a strong man. He knew what he wanted, and he got it. If his successors had only been his equals in courage and capacity, I do not think there would ever have been the Punjab War, and possibly the Punjab would now be in friendly alliance with England instead of being absorbed in the British Empire. Maharajah Ranjit Singh was a man of the greatest genius, and being myself a Punjabi, and having myself received a Sikh baptism in the Durbar of Umritsur, I must assert his claim to have been one of the most distinguished and brilliant characters that have flashed over the page of Indian history.

The conclusion I would draw from the lecture is that the secret of success in India—the success of Ranjit Singh, the success of Akbar, and the success up till now, and I trust hereafter, of the British Government—is toleration. The Emperor Akbar was tolerant of all religions. The Maharajah Ranjit Singh had none of any sort or kind, as far as I ever have been able to make out, but was tolerant of all, and his chosen servants were Muhammadans, Brahmans, and Christians. The British Government has maintained a strict and honourable toleration of all the creeds of the subject races, and there is no Muhammadan gentleman, or Hindu gentleman, or Sikh, to-day in this room who can stand up and say that the British Government has oppressed the religion of any of the races which are subject to Her Majesty the Queen. This is, gentlemen, the source of strength in the East, and we shall remain strong so long as we maintain these healthy traditions. If a foolish desire for interference with the creeds of others, and a desire for missionary proselytism, ever seizes on the Government of England and India, then India will be lost, and justly lost, to the English Crown.

Before sitting down, I would say a word of warm appreciation of the Sikh religion, which is closely connected with the lecture, because the Sikh Empire was founded on a theocracy. It was not a religion in the true sense of the word, but an ethical system of the very highest and most ennobling kind, monotheistic in the purest sense, preferring the devotion and the service of the heart to any mere ceremonial observance; and it was chiefly the intolerance of the Emperor Aurungzebe which drove the last and the most famous of the Gurus—Govind Singh—into founding what was a military religion. The religion of Nanak was one of goodwill and of peace.

I will now only thank in the warmest way our lecturer for his most interesting lecture. (See paper elsewhere.)

MOULVI RUFFI-UD-DIN AHMED had very little to say after the learned

and wise remarks of the Chairman. Those who had any faculty for doing so could draw the right conclusions. The lecturer had grouped together three Empires. It was, as the Chairman had said, fallacious to compare the time of Akbar with the present time. The comparison would more justly be made with the time when Queen Mary was on the throne. The object of the lecturer was to draw political conclusions, but it was futile to compare the past Government of India with that of the present day. There was no Indian present who did not glory in the establishment of perfect peace in British India, and who did not feel a kind of pride in being a British citizen; but that was not inconsistent with taking a kind of glory in the Mogul Empire. It was to the credit of the British Empire that facilities were given for making research into ancient history, and he thought critics and lecturers should not be so hard in drawing comparisons between the two periods. Sentiment sometimes played a great part. No doubt there would have been a natural desire on the part of persons who lived at the time of Akbar or of Maharajah Ranjit Singh that they should have had a place under the Government, but very high places were now denied to Her Majesty's Indian subjects. He wanted to know from the lecturer why he thought that the Empire of Akbar could not be called a Moslem Empire. He thought the lecturer was rather hard in one or two points upon Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh was a strong man, and he believed the Moslems of India would like to have another Ranjit Singh. It was not altogether a bad rule, especially when compared with other Governments of the Middle Ages. It would perhaps have been better if the lecturer had confined himself to one empire at a time, more particularly to the legislative part. There were many good enactments which compared favourably even to-day with those of many of the European States.

MR. B. P. SINGH would have felt inclined to enter a strong protest against some of the observations of the lecturer, but having heard what had been said by the Chairman, for whom he entertained the very greatest respect, he would confine himself to a very few words. He was surprised to hear Sir William Rattigan, with all his knowledge of the Punjab and the history of the Sikhs, come to such conclusions as he had come to with regard to faults in the religion or administration of the Sikhs. The lecturer had compared those days with the present, but that was not a fair thing to do. Only a few centuries back in the history of the English nation the same kind of tyranny and oppression existed. There must be some bloodshed, and some war, and a slow progression, the nation building itself up. The circumstances of the times must be had regard to. Much had been said about Ranjit Singh's personal qualities. He might have been immoral. That which would be immoral in one nation might not be immoral in another. It was a question of the circumstances of the country, the religion of the people, and their social customs.

MR. B. KURESHI had no knowledge of the history of the Mogul period, of the Sikh period, or of the Mahratta period, but he did not agree with the last two speakers, one of whom had pleaded for Akbar, and the other for Ranjit Singh. They had both done unconstitutional things, and neither knew how to govern the country.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Sir William Rattigan to reply to the observations which have been made, but before doing so, I would say that, as far as I understand them, the criticisms from both the Sikh and the Muhammadan side have been a little misplaced. I listened to the lecture with extreme attention, and although I may myself have been a little more enthusiastic with regard to those two illustrious monarchs than the lecturer was, yet he seemed to me to have spoken regarding them with the warmest appreciation, and I should be sorry to let it be thought that I in any way agreed with the criticisms which have been offered.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN: It is first my pleasant duty to thank you for the kindly way in which you have referred to the paper that I was privileged to read before you. If I have any regret, it is the regret that some of my native friends here should, as I think, have completely misunderstood the tenor and the object of that lecture. This is probably owing to the fact that the paper necessarily had to be somewhat lengthy, and they have not been able to follow the rapid transition of facts and ideas that necessarily also had to be dealt with in the paper itself. They have consequently formed an incorrect estimate of both my object and the purport of my remarks. At all events, it is extremely pleasant to me to know that no apprehension has been raised in the mind of our learned Chairman in regard to either one or the other point. With regard to Akbar, I really thought I was as great an admirer of that great monarch as it was possible for any English reader to be. I thought I had expressed myself so warmly in his praise, had so pointed out all his qualities of a statesman and a monarch, and as a general and as an administrator, with the greatest eulogy upon his general administration, that I am surprised to find that anyone in the audience should have been able to construe, from anything that I said, that I was disparaging the reputation of that monarch. I can only say that if such an impression has been conveyed by anything that I said, it was certainly not my meaning; and I think it will be seen, if this paper is published, that that is really not the meaning conveyed by the words actually used. No one can admire Akbar more than I do. I believe I have studied his reign as fully as it is possible for an Englishman to do. The native authorities that have been referred to are, I will not say more familiar to me than to the learned Moulvie who made the criticism—I bow to him in any matter connected with Muhammadan history—but I will say this, that those particular histories that I have referred to have been studied minutely by me, and I think, if the learned critic will himself refer to those authorities, he will see that I have been more of an admirer even than certainly Akbar's contemporary Badauni was. Objection has been taken to my saying that Akbar was not a Moslem Emperor. I said that in a general sense, to show that the man was not the monarch of any particular class or sect; that he was one of those independent free-thinkers who allied himself to no particular sect or religion; that he was a monarch who claimed to rule India *as a whole*, a monarch who, therefore, stood forward as not representing any particular sect or religion or class, and it was in that sense that I said he could scarcely be called a Moslem Emperor. Badauni himself has, in more than one page of his history, criticised the

Emperor because he was *not* a Moslem. It was, therefore, simply in the general sense which I have explained that I made that remark.

I do desire to say this also, in regard to the criticism of what I have said with respect to Ranjit Singh, that this also has apparently been made under a misconception. I thought I had very distinctly brought out in my paper all the qualities which marked out Ranjit Singh as the able strong administrator, to which the Chairman himself has alluded in such felicitous terms. I thought I had emphasized as clearly and forcibly as I could that he was a man, above all things, a man; that his whole vigour, his independence, his toleration, were such as marked him out as a ruler of men. If I did not touch on Hindu religion, I did so purposely. It was not the object of my lecture to enter into that field of inquiry or discussion. It was a field that I purposely avoided entering upon. I had already dealt with that field in a paper which has been published elsewhere, and I think if the learned critic had read that paper, he would probably have seen that there was no stronger admirer of the ethical system which Baba Nanak had founded than I myself am, but in the present lecture it was no part of my object to refer to that subject. My object was simply to pick out from the history of India three different and distinct nationalities, and from amongst them to select the individual monarch of each who had distinguished himself above all his fellows and contemporaries, and it was with that object, and that alone, that I had coupled and grouped those three nationalities together. I am extremely sorry that any remarks I have made could have received the interpretation that I was unsympathetic to any one of them. Very far from it.

With these remarks, gentlemen, I shall only once more thank you for the kind indulgence that you have shown me.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

ALIENATION OF LAND IN THE PUNJAB.

SIR,

It may interest your readers to know how this question stands at the present time.

The question is, of course, a very old one. Its modern history may be said to date from 1872, when Mr. (now Sir Raymond) West in a pamphlet entitled "The Land and the Law in India," pointed out that if the British Government had divested itself of the exclusive ownership of land, it had, nevertheless, retained a right of protective ownership which would enable it to impose restrictions on alienation. The agrarian riots in the Bombay Deccan led to the appointment of a committee of inquiry in 1875, and to the passing of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act in 1879. The Famine Commission of 1878 urged that agricultural debtors should be protected by the imposition of restrictions on land transfers. In 1886 Mr. Thorburn published his "Mussulmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab," which gave rise to an official discussion. In 1891 a commission was appointed to report on the wording of the Act of 1879; and in 1875 Local Governments were consulted in a circular accompanied by memoranda in which the whole subject of agricultural indebtedness, and the various remedies from time to time proposed, were exhaustively discussed. Mr. Thorburn followed up his book of 1886 by a special inquiry into peasant indebtedness in the Rawalpindi dominion. The Government of India determined to deal with the matter in the Punjab, and in the summer of 1878 a committee of Punjab revenue officers, over which the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir W. Mackworth Young) himself presided, framed proposals which have formed the basis of the legislation now announced.

The Bill now before the Council of the Governor-General was introduced on September 27, 1899, by the Hon. C. M. Rivaz, C.S.I., the member in charge of the Home Department, and the above remarks are a brief summary of the historical

portion of his speech. On the same occasion Lord Curzon remarked: "We cannot afford to see the yeoman farmers of the Punjab—the flower of the population, and the backbone of our native army—dwindle and become impoverished before our eyes. Neither can we acquiesce in the consummation of a social revolution which is in contradiction both of the traditions of Indian society and the cardinal precepts of British rule."

The Bill has been circulated for the opinions of experts. The statement of objects and reasons which accompanies it declares that the expropriation of the hereditary agriculturist in many parts of the Punjab has been regarded for years as a serious political danger. This danger, it is said, is accompanied by bad economic results, is increasing, and, if not arrested, will grow to formidable dimensions. It is also recognised "that the idea of a free transferable interest in land, which is at the root of the trouble, is of comparatively modern origin, and is contrary both to the existing practice in most native States, and to the traditions and sentiment—if no longer to the practice—of the people of the Punjab."

The Bill makes the sanction of a revenue officer necessary to every permanent alienation of agricultural land. This sanction is to be given as a matter of right when the alienor is not a member of an agricultural tribe, or where a member of an agricultural tribe alienates to an agriculturist in the same village, or to another member of his own tribe residing in the district. The term "tribe" is used in its widest significance, and the local Government may define "district" so as to include tracts outside the district in the ordinary acceptance of the term. Temporary alienations of agricultural land are reduced to two forms of mortgage: (1) A usufructuary mortgage for not more than fifteen years, after which the mortgage is to be extinguished, and the land is to revert to the owner; and (2) a mortgage without possession, convertible into a usufructuary mortgage for a period not exceeding fifteen years. Mortgages by

way of conditional sale are declared void, but can be converted into usufructuary mortgages.

The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in council, can exempt any district, or any part of a district, or any person, or any class of persons, from the operation of the Act or any of its provisions.

The Bill will be proceeded with next summer at Simla.

C. L. TUPPER.

Lahore, *November 22, 1899.*

THE USE OF GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

SIR,

The lucid statement and reasonable arguments of Sir John Jardine in your last issue, on the vexed question of the use of the Government churches in India, form a refreshing contrast to the tone of much of the controversial literature on the same subject in the Anglo-Indian press. The writers on the Church of Scotland's side are, I must say, much calmer and more courteous than their opponents; one of whom, a rather excitable "priest," named Sandberg, illustrates his Christian spirit and his historical lore by charging the Scottish Churchmen, who seek to assert their constitutional position and rights in India, with "burglary" and "ruffianism," and by proclaiming, as a true fact germane to the matter, that "there existed an Episcopal Church of Scotland long before Presbyterianism was *imported from Holland*." He, and others of the same type of mind, claim an exclusive right to the Government churches, because Episcopalians have contributed largely, in some cases to the expense of their erection, in others to that of their adornment. If Government took money for either purpose from Episcopalians, on the understanding that these alone were to use the churches, they had no right to do so. If A. builds a place of business for the common use of B. and C., and promises each an equal title to it, A. is acting dishonestly if he by-and-by transfers the sole occupancy to B. because B. has chosen, at his own cost, to put in electric light and lay down expensive

carpets, and has got his particular friend old father Abraham to perform a peculiar service inside the house, which, in the eyes of many superstitious people, renders it unsafe for anyone except B. to sleep under the roof. Anglican decoration and consecration of the churches cannot be honestly held to justify their diversion from the purpose for which they were built. As for the effect of consecration, which is understood to be exercising the minds of the law officers of the Crown, even were canon law to be allowed, in our free Empire, to override civil contracts and common justice, it could have no force in controlling this question, if the opinion of Dr. Lushington, who held in his time the responsible post of legal adviser of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is to be regarded as of authority. "The ecclesiastical law of England," he says—"save particular portions thereof by Act of Parliament—has not been introduced into India. Presbyterian services," he adds, "may be legally held in the Government Protestant churches." Naturally so, because these churches were built for them as much as for the Anglican services. They are all Government churches, and the charge of them is under the Public Works Department.* In the regulations of that Department, Rule III. runs as follows: "At all permanent military stations churches will be provided by Government for the Protestant and Roman Catholic European British-born soldiers"; and the term "Protestant" is defined to include members of the Church of England, and of the Church of Scotland, and such other denominations of Christians as may from time to time be included by the Government of India. It is further stated that these buildings, being Government property, are to be in charge of the Executive engineer. But the Executive engineer is blandly pushed aside by the "lord bishop" of the Anglican diocese, who assumes the sole charge, and locks the door in everybody's face, except in that of the Anglican Tommy Atkins and his friends. If

* This, of course, does not apply to churches built by Anglicans themselves, aided by a Government grant.

Hamish McDonald has a soul to be saved, he must not seek, and will not find, salvation here.

This proceeding is as illegal as it is un-Christian. The right of the Church of Scotland to these Government buildings is the same as that of the Church of England. When, in 1813, the first Anglican bishop was appointed for India, and three archdeacons were sent with him to act as *oculi episcopi* in the three Presidencies, Dr. Bryce, the first Scots chaplain, went out in the same ship, and undertook the charge of the Scots congregation at Calcutta. Scottish churches were also founded in Madras and Bombay, the senior chaplain at Calcutta acting as representative of the Scots Establishment, in all relations between it and the Government. The latest attempt to interfere with these relations, and to treat the Church of Scotland as a mere sect, without valid claim to Government recognition, has been made by Lord Curzon with the approval of Bishop Welldon. Without the courtesy of even consulting the senior Scots chaplain, the Viceroy in Council suddenly announced that all questions concerning the Scottish use of the Cantonment churches were henceforth to be referred, not, as under the regulations of his predecessor, to the highest civil authority, but to the Bishop of Calcutta. This announcement was as illegal as it was unfair. In the Act of Parliament creating the bishopric of Calcutta this section occurs: "Provided always, and be it farther enacted, that such bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions whatever, either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may, from time to time, be limited to him by His Majesty by letters patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom." Where are the letters patent empowering the Bishop of Calcutta to exercise jurisdiction over the clergy of the Scottish Church in India? What may be episcopal functions I do not pretend to define. They do not appear to mean, in England at least, the exercise of a discipline, which must be obeyed by

the clergy of the bishop's own Church ; but they certainly may be held to include everywhere the regulating of the places and times of the public worship of God. And the ultimate regulation of these—not for the guidance of his own clergy, but of others with whom he has no legal or moral right to meddle—is assumed by the Bishop of Calcutta. We are disposed to believe he may have assumed it in ignorance. He was new to his office and diocese. He had been the headmaster of a great public school in England, where the headmaster is an absolute autocrat. He may have imagined that all clergy were to bow before him, whether within "the Church," or without it. The birch of Harrow was still more familiar to his hand than the palm of India. But by this time he must have learned how grossly he erred in his assumption of illicit functions, as the public has by this time seen how unfit he is to be the umpire in contentious cases where he is (*ex officio*, one may say) the prejudiced representative of one of the parties in every reference.

He ought to have lost no time in resigning the incongruous duties unwisely thrust upon him. If he fails to do so, the Church of Scotland, whose representatives are constitutionally entitled to approach the throne, should in the exercise of this privilege and out of respect to her own position and duties, lay before the Queen a protest against the Viceroy's invasion of the royal prerogative, in investing the Bishop of Calcutta with powers exceeding those sanctioned by the Crown, and a petition for Dr. Welldon's discharge from an illegal and invidious office.

Indian officialism draws a thick veil across any public indications of candid criticism of acts such as this of Lord Curzon's; but it cannot conceal the fact that the new regulations have roused feelings of vehement opposition in many quarters in India; that the Commander-in-Chief, himself a Scotsman, has expressed disapproval; that the clergy of all sorts except bigoted sacerdotalists view them with disfavour; and that they have pleased no party at home.

or abroad, except these priestly gentlemen, and the young lions of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion, who contrive to exercise, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, a perniciously sectarian and anti-Protestant influence on the present Government.

Whatever answer the legal pundits consulted by the Government return to the conundrum which they are invited to solve as to the validity in India of Anglican consecration; whatever shifts may be resorted to in order to evade the duty of providing decent means for the celebration of public worship by the Scottish troops—of one thing the Viceroy and his Council may rest assured, that Protestant Scots, be they Gordons, or Seaforths, or Borderers, or Black Watch, will not much longer endure the outrage of being locked out of the Cantonment churches as unfit to worship there, and submit to having their chaplains put under the orders of an English prelate. They have borne their share of the white man's burden, and been in the forefront of most of the battles that have built up the Indian Empire. Those who insult them and their religion had better understand, once for all, *that it will not do.*

R. HERBERT STORY.

The University, Glasgow,
December, 1899.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE COINING OF GOLD.*

SIR,

In common with many others I have till now assumed that the Indian Government did not intend for the present to let the natives get gold coin from the treasury, as in all probability it would be hoarded. It was therefore with astonishment that I learned some days ago of the decision to pay out sovereigns in India to anyone who presents uncoined gold at the mints of that country. Even if such coin were to go into circulation in India nothing would be gained and the scarcity of gold would be intensified; if on the other hand it goes into hoards so much is simply lost to the world.

Apparently there is some objection to accepting at the Indian mints the large supplies of gold available from the Indian mines. This gold is impure, but it could be refined in India as easily as in Europe with a

* See article "India and the Monetary Crisis," p. 280, October, 1899.

saving of the cost of transport and the result would be some millions per annum added to the Indian treasury stocks.

These amount now to nearly £5,000,000, of which about £800,000 is in charge of the Bank of England.

J. H. TWIGG.

December, 1899.

THE ANCIENT ARMENIANS.

Those of our readers interested in archaic history will remember the paper in our issue of last April entitled "Firdúsi an Accurate Historian," by Mr. Jamshedjee Pállonjee Kápadiá, of Bombay.* The following excerpts (handed to us by Mr. W. Martin Wood) from correspondence between Dr. Karl Blind and the author may serve to carry on the questions mentioned, pending the publication by Mr. Jamshedjee of two works covering several hitherto obscure points relating to that remote period :

1. Dr. Karl Blind to Mr. Martin Wood: "I have read carefully the excellent learned treatise on Firdúsi by Jamshedjee Pállonjee Kápadiá, and I now wish to thank you once more. On the subject of the race of the 'original Armenians,' I think I might mention that Herodotos (vii. 73) calls them 'colonists of the Phrygians' (ἰόντες φρυγῶν ἀποικοί). He enumerates them among the Lydians, Mysians, and other tribes of the great Thracian stock, which was kindred to the Teutonic and Scandinavian race."

2. Mr. Pállonjee to Mr. Martin Wood: "Your friend Dr. Karl Blind's remarks from Herodotos I have perused with attention. But you must know that Herodotos and other Greek writers, according to the scholarship then prevailing, classified all the Asiatic tribes, not according to the modern system of ethnology and philology, but simply from their modes and manner of life. For instance, many *nomadic* tribes, as shown by Max Duncker, who are described as Turanians by the Greeks, are now found out from their names, etc., to be originally of pure Aryan origin. Canon Rawlinson is therefore right when he says that there were Aryans in Armenia long before, I think, the dawn of history. If you look to some of the Assyrian cities, and names of their gods, you will plainly find in them Aryan roots. For instance, the city of Enoch is 'Killé-Erach' of the Shaha-namah, Erach being the son of Feridūn, the antediluvian Péshdadian King, and the god Assur is the Zoroastrian Ahuri (Hormazd). Many such names I could enumerate here, but it would occupy a long space. Suffice it to say that I have dwelt at full length on this subject in my next two works, now in MS."

3. To this Dr. Blind thus rejoined: "Herodotos was not only a great traveller and careful investigator, but also a native of Asia Minor, where the Armenians dwelt. I need scarcely say that he neither speaks of 'Aryans' nor of 'Turanians,' but simply says: 'The Armenians were armed like the Phrygians, being colonists of the Phrygians.' He mentions the Armenians and the Phrygians in connection with other tribes of the great Thracian stock. I know Rawlinson's 'Herodotos,' and all the controversies connected with the subject in question, on which I have published many essays in German and English. The Thracians were evidently Eastern kinsmen of

* See pp. 390-399.

the Teutons and Scandinavians, therefore Aryans. So were consequently the earliest mentioned Armenians. Herodotos is often under-estimated; without him we would know little of many ancient races. As to early Greek writers classifying nations as Aryans or Turanians, I do not know to whom your Parsee friend refers. I should be glad to know what he has to say in his forthcoming work."

AFRICA.

The progress of the construction of a railway from the sea at Mombasa and Kilindini to Lake Victoria has been communicated to Parliament.* The distance is upwards of 500 miles. The Lake, although it has not yet been regularly surveyed, is estimated to be 200 miles broad and the same in length, covering at least a coast-line from 800 to 1,000 miles, with numerous bays and inlets. At the end of October, 1893, the rail head had reached the 225th mile, and assuming that the engineers can lay a mile a day, the railway should be at the present time nearly completed. "Mombasa as a harbour is easier of access for sailing vessels entering with the prevailing wind, but the port is to some extent unprotected from heavy seas, and would be exposed to bombardment from outside in case of war. At Kilindini, on the other hand, there is an excellent harbour, completely land-locked, with a capacious and well-protected anchorage." The object of the railway is to put a stop to the slave trade, and to open up the country to commerce and civilization. In the despatch from the Foreign Office to the Treasury on December 20, 1890, it is stated that the only mode of action with this object in view was the construction of such a railway, and it would be more effectual and cheaper than maintaining a squadron on the coast, which amounted to £108,000 to £110,000 per annum, which represents the interest on a capital sum of rather more than £3,000,000 at 3 per cent. Hence the subsidy for the railway, as stated by the Commissioner, Sir Guilford Molesworth, "is almost justified by the saving of the annual expenditure on the suppression of slavery, even apart from the development of the trade and civilization of the country." Sir Guilford, after minute examination of the whole route, its many difficulties and other details as to construction and expense, concludes his elaborate and most interesting report by saying: "Taking the system as a whole, it is characterized by the utmost method and careful consideration of detail. Great credit is due to the chief engineer for the manner he has initiated and developed this organization under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty."

NIGERIA.

To-day (January 1) Nigeria passes from the late Company to the British Government. It takes over a considerable portion of the Company's staff, some of the leading members of the executive and judicial departments, the whole of the Company's troops and officers, the greater portion of the medical staff, as well as the staff connected with the engineering shops and repairing yard at Akasa.

* See Africa, No. 5 (1899), Report by Sir Guilford Molesworth.

BRITISH GUIANA.

By the award of the International Tribunal under the Treaty of Washington to delimit the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, the Schomburgk line is followed. England retains all the goldfields worked by the British. The only portions within the above line awarded to Venezuela are the Barima point, the district drained by the Cuyuni, and the Uruan post (formerly English) on the Cuyuni. The boundary having been fixed, the insecurity of title to claims on the goldfields disappears.

CEYLON.

Mr. John Ferguson read a paper on "Ceylon in 1899" before the members of the Colonial Institute, in which he stated that special progress has been made in almost every department. Social, sanitary, and material improvement has been made among the native population, a rapid extension of cultivation of the cocoanut and other palms, besides tea, and also mining, all which have greatly advanced the revenue of the country. The great improvement in harbour works, and the erection of a first-class graving-dock, has constituted Colombo one of the best equipped central ports in the East for Asia, Australasia, China, and East and South Africa. Railway extension is also in rapid progress. The surplus revenue has been devoted to the erection of hospitals, schools, and other public works, including irrigation tanks all over the island.

SAMOA.

The Convention and Declaration in reference to Samoa between Germany and Great Britain is dated November 14, 1899. It is provided by

Article I. that Great Britain renounces in favour of Germany all her rights over the islands of Upolu and of Savaii, including the right of establishing a coaling station there, and her right of extra-territoriality in these islands. Great Britain similarly renounces in favour of the United States of America all her rights over the island of Tutuila, and the other islands of the Samoan group east of 171° longitude east of Greenwich. Great Britain recognises as falling to Germany the territories to the eastern part of the neutral zone established by the arrangement of 1888 in West Africa. The limits of the portion of the neutral zone falling to Germany are defined in Article V. of the present Convention.

Article II. Germany renounces in favour of Great Britain all her rights over Tonga Islands, including Vavau, and over the Savage Island, including the right of establishing a naval station and coaling station, and the right of extra-territoriality in the said islands. Germany similarly renounces in favour of the United States of America all her rights over the island of Tutuila, and over the other islands of the Samoan Group east of longitude 171° east of Greenwich. She recognises as falling to Great Britain those of the Solomon Islands at present belonging to Germany which are situated to the east and south-east of the island of Bougainville, which latter shall continue to belong to Germany, together with the island of Buka, which forms part of it. The western portion of the neutral zone in West Africa, as defined in Article V. of the present Convention, shall also fall to the share of Great Britain.

Article III. The Consuls of the two Powers at Apia and in the Tonga Islands shall be provisionally recalled. The two Governments will come to an agreement with regard to the arrangements to be made during the interval in the interest of their navigation and of their commerce in Samoa and Tonga.

Article IV. The arrangement at present existing between Germany and Great Britain, and concerning the right of Germany to freely engage labourers in the Solomon Islands belonging to Great Britain, shall be equally extended to those of the Solomon Islands mentioned in Article II., which fall to the share of Great Britain.

Article V. In the neutral zone, the frontier between the German and English territories shall be formed by the river Daka as far as the point of its intersection with the 9th degree of north latitude; thence the frontier shall continue to the north, leaving Morozugu to Great Britain, and shall be fixed on the spot by a mixed Commission of the two Powers in such manner that Gambaga and all the territories of Mamprusi shall fall to Great Britain, and that Yendi and all the territories of Chakosi shall fall to Germany.

Article VI. Germany is prepared to take into consideration, as much as possible, the wishes which the Government of Great Britain may express with regard to the development of the reciprocal tariffs in the territories of Togo and of the Gold Coast.

Article VII. Germany renounces her rights of extra-territoriality in Zanzibar, but it is at the same time understood that this renunciation shall not effectively come into force till such time as the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed there by other nations shall be abolished.

In an explanatory declaration it is stated that it is clearly understood that by Article II. Germany consents that the whole group of the Howe Islands which forms part of the Solomon Islands shall fall to Great Britain. It is also understood that the stipulations of the declaration between the two Governments signed at Berlin on April 10, 1886, respecting freedom of commerce in the Western Pacific apply to the islands mentioned in the said Convention; also it is understood that the arrangement at present in force as to the engagement of labourers by Germans in the Solomon Islands permits Germans to engage those labourers on the same conditions as those which are, or which shall be, imposed on British subjects non-resident in those islands.

THE OUSLEY SCHOLARSHIPS.

The successful competitors for these scholarships at the School of Modern Oriental Studies of the Imperial Institute for last year were Mr. G. A. Khan, in Arabic; Mr. R. M. Davis, in Persian; and Mr. S. K. Ghose, in Sanskrit. The examination for the current year will be held, probably early in July, in University College, London. The subject is "Hindustani." The examiner is Mr. J. T. Platts. Full information can be obtained by applying to the Secretary, S. M. O. S., Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, 1899.

1. *The Redemption of Egypt*, by W. BASIL WORSFOLD, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, author of "The Principles of Criticism," "The Valley of Light," "South Africa," etc. The author, having determined to visit Egypt during the winter of 1898-99, not so much for pleasure as to examine and inquire into the progress of the country during specially the English occupation, has produced a standard work in which are exhibited, by pen and pencil, in an exquisite manner, the physical and social characteristics of this ancient region of the world. The letter-press and illustrations are excellent. In executing his task, he has consulted the best authorities, ancient and modern, and has taken full advantage of the information placed at his disposal by the various official authorities in the respective administrative departments established by the English Government. His survey ranges from Alexandria, the Delta (and its staple industry, cotton), Memphis, Cairo, the mosques, the Pyramids, Luxor, Assuân, the Government (political and municipal), law and order, education, railways, finance, and the development of the Sudân.

The author correctly points out that the "European residents in the country—small in numbers, but important both politically and commercially—are subjects neither in their persons nor in their property to the native Government. This circumstance, and the fact that a portion of the national wealth, together with the annual revenue which accrues from it, is actually held in mortgage by Europe, have together created an additional and unusual obstacle to the progress of administrative reform; they also increase the merit of efforts which are destined eventually to triumph, in spite of these unprecedented difficulties." With respect to the continued presence of England in Egypt, he says: "Those Englishmen who think it right to assume an apologetic air when they refer to our continued occupation are either ignorant of the facts, or misinterpret the principles of international morality upon which such measures are based. *Vigilantibus non dormientibus lex subvenit*—'The law helps those who keep awake, not those who lie asleep'—is a principle which applies with even greater force to the relationships of nations than to those of individuals. When Egypt was in a state of anarchy, France stepped aside; the rest of Europe never lifted a finger; the Sultan—the suzerain authority—had neither the will nor the power to restore the Khedive's Government, still less to reform the abuses under which the mass of the people of Egypt laboured. In the name of common-sense, therefore, what principle of public or private morality could be invoked which would require England to resign the reward of her efforts, or even justify her in abandoning the necessary and beneficent task of redeeming Egypt?" Hence, carrying out this principle, England has a right and a duty to re-occupy the country as long as "internal peace or external security" is threatened. And it is evident by this occupation, and by her engineering skill, her financial administration, and her sense of

justice, she is procuring for Egypt the two great essentials for the successful redemption of the country—in the words of one of her statesmen—"water" (by irrigation works) and "justice" (by instituting proper legal tribunals).

Mr. Worsfold's volume, so beautifully executed in every respect, is valuable not only to the tourist, but to the philanthropist, the archæologist, the statesman, and the general reader.

W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1899.

2. *In India*, by G. W. STEEVENS. It is difficult to describe this book—to find fault with it is impossible; to praise it is like "painting the lily." In a series of well-written chapters, thirty-eight in number, all more or less brief, the author gives a kind of bird's-eye view of "things as they are" in India under the existing rule. From beginning to end there is not a single dull page. It reads like a romance woven out of a fertile imagination, which means that the author caught all the poetry of the scenes he witnessed, and had an eye to the picturesque. And yet it is a *bonâ-fide* and matter-of-fact description of India "as she is." The reader is carried forward involuntarily from page to page, and from chapter to chapter, unable to stop till he has reached the last the author has to say. Of some things the reader would like to have been told a little more. For instance, Mr. Steevens has a good deal that is interesting to tell us about Agra, yet not a word has he to say about Futtehpore Sikri, one of the most wonderful of all the remains of the Empire of the Moghuls, in the very neighbourhood of the city of Shah Jehan. It is not easy to understand how a man of Mr. Steevens's genius should have contrived to miss that, the most remarkable of all the remains of Akbar.

The Táj—who ever wearies of *that*? We have in this volume a most graphic and glowing description of that "Eighth Wonder of the World," as it has well been called. He gives us very little indeed of the ordinary guide-book information respecting that beautiful edifice; but though we have read many a description of the Táj, we have never met with any description at once so original, so artistic, and withal so true, as that now before us.

Mr. Steevens's book is deserving of a much more lengthy notice than we have space to give to it. It will be found an admirable book to read "on the voyage out" as an introduction to the "Land of Regrets,"—the "Land of Dreams." To point out defects in a work so well written and so generally accurate is not a pleasing task. But who could have been Mr. Steevens's informant when he wrote (p. 346) that a C.S. may retire at forty? He can, of course, "withdraw" from the service whenever he pleases, but he cannot complete his term of twenty-five years at that age. Again, the Hindu's "caste" is not "broken" (p. 54) by "shaking hands" with an English person. No genuine *Brâhman* would *like* to do so; but even if he *did* it, he would merely have contracted ceremonial defilement (an entirely different thing), which could be rectified by Ganges-water afterwards. Here and there we find other inaccuracies, as where, on p. 125, he speaks of "Chaputties"; while his own acquaintance with natural history might have

prevented him from telling his readers (p. 7) that the "pomphlet" is a favourite breakfast fish among the people of Bombay. But the errors are such as can easily be rectified in a subsequent edition.—B.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK.

3. *Marathi Proverbs*, collected and translated by the REV. A. MANWARING. The object of collecting and translating these Marathi (Mahráthi) proverbs is stated by the translator to be to preserve as far as possible all proverbial expressions, which depict the thought and character of the people, before they pass out of use; for though they may be well known to the elders of the present generation, they will probably be less known, less loved, and less used by the coming race, with its Anglicized education and its modern literature. The proverbs in the book are 1,910 in number, and are classified under the heads of (1) Agriculture; (2) Animals; (3) The Body and its Members; (4) Ethical; (5) Food; (6) Health and Disease; (7) The House; (8) Money; (9) Names; (10) Nature; (11) Relationship; (12) Religions; (13) Trades and Professions; and (14) Unclassified. This classification is, of course, arbitrary; but it is probably as near an approach to a reduction of them into proper order as to enable the reader to arrive at their approximate origin.

They would probably be found useful to ethnologists to enable them to trace affinities between the Mahrátha and other races through their common methods of thought; but with the exception of such specialists as might study its pages with a view to acquire information of such a kind, we fear that the book will meet with but a cold reception from the public. The compilation must have been a work of enormous labour, and has been carefully and conscientiously made; on this account it deserves a better fate than it is at all likely to meet. To go into detail, a great many of the so-called proverbs are very ordinary everyday sayings or comparisons of common antithetical ideas which in no way deserve such an appellation, and if these had been omitted from the collection the work might probably have been reduced to a half or one-third of its present size, and thus have had a greater chance of perusal.

To exemplify by a few examples taken at random what is here meant: Prov. 1,024, "Spend according to your income"; Prov. 1,252, "If it ripen, it will sell"; Prov. 1,254, "The flower of the Pimpal-tree" (it has no flower); Prov. 1,263, "It does not take long for the Bor fruit to come on the Bor-tree"; Prov. 1,277, "When there is thunder rain falls" (when the head of the house is angry there will be tears); Prov. 1,286, "A coat for the cold"; Prov. 1,312, "The two wives of one man, let them not quarrel in the house"; Prov. 1,363, "I am glad mother-in-law has gone" (is dead); "the whole house is now in my hands." Now, if these and such-like expressions are supposed to be proverbial, they appear to require more explanation as to the circumstances under which they would be applicable, especially such as Prov. 1,277, with regard to which it would be advisable to show in what sense the very ordinary expression, "When there is thunder the rain falls," can be twisted into the meaning of "When the head of the house is angry there will be tears."

In the transliteration of the Mahráthi, the almost universal use of the short sound *a* after a consonant is not only superfluous, but in most cases altogether vitiates the proper pronunciation. Take, for instance, Prov. 1,245, "Teradyántsa raṅ(a) tīn(a) divas(a)." The right pronunciation is with the three *a*'s in brackets left out, and the sentence would in conversation be utterly unintelligible if they were retained as written. Examples of this need not be multiplied, for they occur in almost every proverb.

On the whole, with the exception of a few slipshod translations, the work is one of extraordinary perseverance and labour, and will be of much use to those who are interested in the study of languages for ethnological purposes.—A. ROGERS.

4. *The "Oxford English Dictionary."* *A new English Dictionary, on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society*, edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. V., I-in (adverb).—This double section, beginning the letter I, of which it constitutes one-fourth, contains 2,503 main words, 201 combinations explained under these, and 544 subordinate entries of obsolete forms. Of the 2,503 main words, 1,700 are current and fully "English," 750 (nearly 30 per cent.) are marked as obsolete, and 53 (2½ per cent.) as alien, or not fully naturalized. A double section of G, by Mr. H. Bradley, is published to-day (January 1, 1900). As examples of the exhaustive character of this invaluable Dictionary, we refer to the term *Idea*, which is explained under four main sections, the latter embracing its modern philosophical developments. The term *Idol* occupies three columns; the word *If* five columns; the word *Ill* and its compounds no fewer than forty-four columns; the word *Imperial* and its compounds eight columns; *Improve*, six columns; and *In* and its phrases down to *in position*, no fewer than twelve columns. The explanations of words and phrases continue to be erudite, highly interesting, and most exhaustive.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS, AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON, 1899.

5. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 7, edited by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S. We here have another of the masterly and elaborate productions of the fruitful pen of Mrs. Gibson. It consists of an Arabic version of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles; also of the Seven Catholic Epistles, or "Epistles General"—to wit, the Epistles from James to Jude inclusive—from an eighth or ninth century manuscript in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai; also, from the same codex, a treatise on the "Triune Nature of the One God." The work includes also an interesting anecdote entitled "The Monk's Prayer," and several suggestive "Sayings" of the Arabs. Thus far all is in the Arabic language, and Mrs. Gibson has supplied a very learned and elaborate Appendix to the Biblical portion of the work, exhibiting the "various readings" of the Pesheeto, or Syriac text, when compared with the Greek; also a translation into English of the treatise on the "Nature of God," and the other documents mentioned above.

In the room in which Mrs. Gibson and her sister (Mrs. Lewis) were at work in the convent there is a staircase, at the foot of which was a little closet in which the "find" now published was discovered stowed away in an old box or basket. At her request the manuscripts were fetched out by the monks, and thus the materials of the present publication were brought to light. The narrative of the process of photographing and editing the manuscripts will be found interesting reading. The treatise on the "Nature of God" was the work of a Christian apologist, who thus sought to defend his religion against the apologists of the religion of Muḥammad. It follows that the treatise must have been written after the propagation of Islām. This circumstance, however, throws no light on the question of the date of the Biblical portion of the "find." The author of the treatise is guilty of several anachronisms and other mistakes in connexion with Old Testament history. But the age in which he lived was not an age of criticism.

It is impossible to commend too highly the indomitable perseverance with which these excellent ladies, Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, are serving their day and generation, and the cause of Biblical literature. Their interest in this matter, and in the precious contents of the Sinaitic monastery, passes all praise. They long ago discovered that seed-plot, and they have turned their discovery to account in the publication from time to time of materials which but confirm the sacred documents of the canonical Scriptures. The printing is excellently well done—the Arabic, the Hebrew, the English, and the Greek.—B.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

6. *Auld Lang Syne*, by MAX MÜLLER; second series of "My Indian Friends." The present work is largely of an autobiographical nature. In point of style, it is chatty rather than literary; but the "chat" of Max Müller is better than the elaborate efforts of most men. The question might arise, "But what to us are Max Müller's Indian friends?" We shall see. In the present work this distinguished veteran deals for the most part with reminiscences of personal acquaintances. Some of these he has seen, and some he has not seen; some of them are cotemporaries, and others are known to us only through the productions of their genius—the authors and compilers of the ancient literature of the Aryas. It is not so certain that the authors, say, of the Veda were "Indians" at all. But we would not be overcritical; it is, anyhow, by way of India that all the knowledge we have of them has come to us.

Among his Indian friends of the present day Max Müller includes the honoured names of Dwārka-Nāth Tagore, Debendra-Nāth Tagore, Rājā Rādhā-kaṇṭha Deva, Nīla-kaṇṭha Goreh, Keshab Chandra Sen, and Behramji Malabāri among male persons, and Rāmabāi and Anandibāi Jōshee among Indian women—all well known the world over for their published thoughts and their useful lives. It is pleasing to note that, notwithstanding his very ardent admiration of the Hindūs, the Professor speaks of the custom of child-marriage as "that pernicious system" (p. 113) and "those unnatural unions" (p. 121). We have heard Brāhmins defend it on principles to which he would not care to apply terms so very strong. His views of Sati

shew that, enthusiastic admirer though he is of the Veda, he evidently is not an omnivorous admirer of all that the Veda contains (p. 121). The work is, however, exceedingly interesting and instructive, as are all Max Müller's books. The history of the "friends" of such a man means the history of a good deal besides—such, for instance, as the history of the enterprises which interested him and them. On this account the present volume will prove to be a work of permanent value.

To descend from great things to small, the punctuation of Max Müller, in this and other works of his, leaves much to be desired. He evidently writes rapidly, and this leads to his overlooking the fact that incorrectness in punctuating occasions misgiving to the reader. We are open to correction; but Max Müller says (pp. 125, 126) that the corpse of one of poor Rāmabāi's parents was conveyed to the burning-ghat by Brāhmanys. During three decades of years passed in India, we never heard of this task having been performed by any excepting Dōms. It would be interesting to know under what circumstances the mournful duty is performed by persons of the Brāhmanical caste. The new system of the transcription of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet is adopted in part in the present work. That system has this disadvantage,—that at the very point at which the English reader is in need of guidance, it throws away its opportunity. What difference, for example, would an English reader make between the pronunciation of "Asrama" and "Asrama"? Secondly, in either case he would be wrong. No English reader could ever be guided by either of these forms to the correct pronunciation. And what difference would such a reader make between the sibilants of "Asoka" and "Arvin"? or between "Givātman" and "Givātman"? No pleasure have we in mere fault-finding; but even Max Müller would appear to have "shied" at some of the misleading details of the system, for he fairly "throws it over" when it comes to writing the names of Chaitanya and of Keshab Bābū. Nor is the learned Professor consistent even with himself; for since the sibilant letter in "Asya" has to be in italic, why should not also that in the name of King "Asoka"? In either instance the italic letter is misleading and conveys no meaning, and equally misleading is the Roman letter also. No English reader could possibly produce the correct sound of the Tālavya sibilant with no better guidance than *that*. It is, again, no more pedantic to write "Jagannāth" for "Juggernāth" (p. 2) than it is to write "Arvin" for "Ashwin" (p. 194). Max Müller is looked up to by multitudes, and for their sakes he should keep consistently to one principle or the other. There is a great deal we should like to have added respecting this production, but we have already exceeded our limit.—B.

7. *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880, compiled from Letters and Official Papers*, by LADY BETTY BALFOUR. This volume is not a biography, but a history of one of the important epochs of our administration in India. It is formed from a compilation of public and private correspondence of great interest and value, minutes of Council and speeches, so well arranged that it graphically describes the continuous and successive stages of Lord Lytton's services as Viceroy during four years of great labour and anxiety. What gives a charm to the book is the

classic and refined style of Lord Lytton's letters, speeches, and despatches, and the forcible, manly, and straightforward arguments by which he presents his views on the various imperial and native questions with which he had to deal. Besides Finance, the Salt duties in the various provinces, the Cotton duties, Public Works, Famine organization, the rights and liberties of the Vernacular Press, and the Indian Civil Service, he had to expound and maintain, against great opposition at home and in India, what is called "the forward policy" on the North-West Frontier, as against the "waiting policy," or the "policy of masterly inactivity." In reference to this question, his speech in the House of Lords, after his return home, and when there was a change in the Government from the Conservative to the Liberal, exhibits in no ordinary manner his grasp of the subject, his eloquence, and his profound conviction of the wisdom of his policy.

His description of the great assemblage at Delhi, when he proclaimed the new title of Her Majesty as "Empress of India," or "*Kaisar-i-Hind*," is specially interesting. We may repeat here that the originator of the rendering of this title into the vernacular, which met with the enthusiastic and unanimous approval of all the assembled Princes of India, was the late lamented Dr. Leitner. In reference to this title, "*Kaisar-i-Hind*," Lord Lytton observes: "The translation of the new title in the vernacular was a matter for careful consideration and consultation. The Government of India finally decided to adopt the term '*Kaisar-i-Hind*.' It was short, sonorous, expressive of the imperial character which it was intended to convey, and a title, moreover, of classical antiquity, the term '*Kaisar-i-Room*' being that generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman Emperor, and still representing the title of Emperor throughout Central Asia" (p. 110).

The genesis of the alienation of Sher Ali to the British power is explained by his son Yakub Khan. He said: "The diaries received from Nqor Mahomed Shah during his stay in India, and the report which he brought back on his return, convinced my father that he could no longer hope to obtain from British Government all the aid that he wanted, and from that time he began to turn his attention to the thought of a Russian alliance" (p. 370). And Lord Lytton, on commenting on Sher Ali's *Firman*, on his flight from Kabul, makes the following distinct affirmation: "I affirm that Sher Ali had ceased to be the friend and ally of the British Government, and that for all practical purposes he had become the friend and ally of the Russian Government at least three years before I had any dealings with His Highness, or any connection with the Government of India. And, finally, I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken in pieces the Empire of British India" (p. 309). Lord Lytton was warmly supported by Lord Salisbury, then Secretary for India; and Lord Beaconsfield, as Prime Minister, addressed a letter to him at the close of the Session of 1879, in which he says: "Greatly owing to your energy and foresight, we have secured a scientific and adequate frontier for our Indian Empire" (p. 331).

We regret that our limited space does not permit us to dwell farther on this valuable volume. To realize its importance, and the grace and style of Lord Lytton's despatches, the reader must peruse the volume for himself.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

8. *Essays on Kāṣmīrī Grammar*, by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D. This volume consists of articles contributed to the journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society by the highest authority on Indian languages, and, like everything written by Dr. Grierson, is not only profound and exhaustive, but minutely accurate. Kashmiri (as it may be written for the uninitiated) is an exceedingly interesting language to the comparative philologist because of its peculiar and almost isolated standpoint. Hitherto very little has been known about it, but of late years, owing to this secluded country having been thrown open to Europeans, a considerable amount of information has been collected and published. It is now seen that this language contains an archaic phonology and structure which, on the one hand, explains much that has been obscure in the allied languages of Western India, while, on the other, it throws light on the processes by which the inflexional languages of the Aryan family arrived at their present condition. It is still under the dominion of those subtle laws of euphony which play so important a part in the agglutinative languages of the Turanian class, and of which only faint traces still survive in Aryan speech, traces which are stronger in the less advanced, and fainter in the more developed members of the group. Indeed in Kashmiri phonology there is much which can only be properly understood by one who possesses an ear as delicate, and a perception of shades of sound as keen, as the learned writer himself. Here we have epenthesis employed not merely as a tone gradation in derivatives, but as part of the machinery of inflexion; and that this was originally a principle of Aryan speech is shown by its existence in Celtic, Slavonic, and early Teutonic languages. In a brief notice like the present, it is impossible to enter into details of the fascinating analogies and inferences which might be drawn from the facts so lucidly set forth in these articles. Students of the science of language will, however, find a rich treat in these pages. Nor is the interest of them confined to the phonetic system; the inflexional peculiarities are also full of interest. Taken in connection with the very striking range of forms and inflexions so ably and copiously elucidated by the late Dr. Leitner in his monumental work on "The Languages of Dardistan," they afford material which it may be hoped some competent scholar will one day work out into a detailed exposition of the structure of primitive Aryan speech and its relation to the agglutinative languages. By publishing in a connected form these very valuable essays, Dr. Grierson has added to the already long list of benefits which by his learned and indefatigable labours in the domain of Indian philology he has already conferred on the students of that thorny but deeply attractive science. When he has completed the "Survey of Indian Languages," on which he is now engaged, it is a duty which he owes to the world to crown the

edifice by a really satisfactory comparative grammar of the Aryan languages of India. *Quod ego olim tentavi, id tu fausto numine perficias!*

JOHN BEAMES.

9. *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, by MARTIN HARTMANN. In a small and handy volume of less than a hundred pages, Mr. Hartmann gives an account of the periodical press in Egypt. He supplies a list of the periodicals to the number of 168, some of them daily, some weekly, some monthly. Most of these periodicals are in Arabic, some in Syriac, some in Armenian, some in Hebrew, some in Kurdish, some in Coptic, some in English. Such prolific enterprise is not limited to persons of the dominant sex; it has, as in America and England, developed also the female journalist and editor. In addition to the names of the periodicals, Mr. Hartmann gives also in few words some idea of the functions and political rôle of each periodical. Some few of the papers are almost entirely religious, and all of them are strongly committed to Muhammadan sentiment, while many of them are, of course, very pronouncedly anti-English; for, do what we will, there are agitators and malcontents in every community, and as the British claim the prerogative of grumbling about things in general, and rejoice in the exercise, the same spirit is caught up by the Egyptian as well as by the Bengali. It is a useful exercise. The newspapers in Egypt are published in the afternoon; the reason, though Mr. Hartmann does not note the fact, is probably that the Muhammadan day, or date, begins at sunset, and not, as among ourselves, at midnight. In the midst of the Babel which the incessant clack of all these enlightening periodicals creates, one can readily sympathize with the official English in that land in the difficulties which beset them in governing in our name and as our representatives.

The strongest element in the population, from the intellectual point of view, is, it appears, the Syrians, and the weakest the Coptic. The backwardness of the Coptic race would appear less a matter of reproach to Mr. Hartmann if he were better acquainted with their political history since the Conquest of Egypt by the second Khalifa. The oppressive nature of the Turkish Government, and the folly and pusillanimity of its officials everywhere, are strongly animadverted upon. "Every kind of public instruction is," says Mr. Hartmann, "systematically opposed by that Government." The English in Egypt, as in India and everywhere else, have to "take up the white man's burden." In England we are all so preoccupied with our own political burdens, problems, and complications, that we have no time to read the newspapers of the many countries with which we stand connected. A similarly interesting account might be compiled respecting the *Indian* periodical press, and the press of China, South Africa, Canada, Burma, Japan, etc. Such compilations as the present are valuable as works of reference, and as shewing the intellectual activity of all those peoples who fall under British influence. But the present work was compiled in a hurry, and though the work of the printer was admirably executed, there is many an error which the compiler might correct in a later edition.—B.

10. *Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law and Cognate*

Topics; with a brief excursus on the Law of Property: chiefly founded on the writings of the late Sir Chaloner Alabaster, K.C.M.G., by Ernest Alabaster, Barrister-at-Law, etc.—This work is decidedly of a high order and can be thoroughly trusted as a popular guide to the principles of Chinese law, recast, moreover, so as to fall more easily within the purview to which we are accustomed in the West. Chinese law, like Chinese history, lacks concentration and systematization, dealing as it does by preference with concrete cases rather than fixed principles; and it is for the European student of law, as of history, to extract from a mass of specific pains and penalties in the one case, or a mass of isolated facts in the other, some general rules which govern and throw intelligible light upon the unscientifically-grouped details. No one who has spent his best years in China could have been better fitted by temperament for this task than the late Consul-General at Canton, who had so far back as 1876-78 contributed to the *China Review* (vols. v. and vi.) the excursus portion of the above excellent work. Chinese law makes no distinction between the civil and criminal branches of jurisprudence—in fact, there are no well-understood Chinese words capable of adequately expressing the distinction as we understand it. From their point of view a law is a command, pure and simple, and breach of that command entails punishment; hence all law is in a way criminal. If popular customs upon matters touching inheritance, commerce, transfer, and so on have from time to time called for a command to rectify, accentuate, or generalize such customs, and have in this way indirectly created a body of quasi-civil law, this civil jurisprudence is none the less of an ancillary order, sanctioned by pains and penalties exactly as the general or criminal code of which it is, so to speak, a mere after-growth or excrescence. This peculiarity is the better realized when we observe the one main principle which pervades all Chinese law, namely, that rights, injuries, innocence, and guilt are founded rather upon status than upon individual equality; thus, what is a crime in a child, slave, junior, wife, or pupil may, through the exaggerated operation of *patria potestas*, taken in its widest sense, become almost a virtue in a parent, master, senior agnate, husband, or tutor. This point is exceedingly clearly brought out by Sir Chaloner Alabaster, whose well-known sardonic humour manages to quicken with lively interest the dry bones of the baldest Chinese statutes. Having read carefully through the whole 600 pages, and having previously had opportunities of reading the original “commands” of several successive dynasties of Emperors, I can candidly say that I have not noticed a single instance where (so far as my own imperfect knowledge goes) any essential fact or principle appears to be incorrectly stated; it is a little curious, however, to notice that not a single word is said upon the subject of female infanticide. It was a happy thought to give, in the original Chinese characters, along, of course, with translations, the leading legal terminologies. In a considerable number of cases these characters have been misprinted, but not in such a way as to prevent anyone conversant with Chinese from knowing what the correct character ought to be, whilst for those who do not read Chinese at all this defect will not entail any serious consequences, as the whole of the Chinese will to them be unintelligible.

E. H. PARKER.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON, 1899.

11. *The Story of West Africa*, by MARY H. KINGSLEY, author of "West African Studies" The Story of the Empire Series. A racy pocket-history of West Africa, in the author's well-known style, showing the rise of English influence in the West; the conditions under which English trade has been carried on, from Queen Elizabeth's time to the present; the story of early and modern explorers and merchants, the difficulties they met with, and their pluck and perseverance, resulting in a settlement of Government under the ægis and control of England. The area of Miss Kingsley's excursion comprises the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Lagos, and the vast territory now to be known as Nigeria. This history is accompanied with a map, and a good index.

12. *The Transvaal Boers: a Historical Sketch*, by AFRICANUS, with presentation map of South Africa. A very accurate and clear historical sketch, embracing the origin of the Boers, the Voortrekkers, the early history of the South African Republic, annexation and war, the two Conventions, the Uitlanders, with important appendices, giving the names of British Premiers, Colonial Secretaries, and Governors of the Cape; Presidents of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State; Premiers of Cape Colony and Natal since the grant of responsible government; Lieutenant-Governors, Administrators, and Governors of Natal since its separation from Cape Colony; calendar of principal events in South Africa since 1834, and a list of the numerous books consulted, with an important note. This work is full of interest, clearly written, and valuable at the present time.

GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED; LONDON, 1899.

13. *The International Geography*, by seventy contributors, edited by Dr. HUGH ROBERT MILLIS, librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. This book of 1,088 pages including index is a wonder and a credit to the Century at the close of which it appears, and emphatically no other Century could have given birth to a compilation so comprehensive, so accurate, and so complete. In statistics some reasonable accuracy is sought for, and not mere guesses; some data must be shown for amount of population. As regards the Chinese Empire, the estimate of the population is too uncertain to record anything as a fact; the utmost that can be said is that it is not improbable that it reaches 350,000,000. As regards British India, where attempts have been made for several decades to introduce a census, the population is entered at 287,000,000. Thus the two countries together contain more than one-third of the population of the world in its widest sense.

The Editor in his brief preface explains that the work is the work of a Septuagint, and gives the names of the seventy learned contributors, and the portion of the subject entrusted to each is recorded, and the list justifies the title of "International." An estimate was formed of the amount of space to which each contributor should be restricted; this must have been a task of great delicacy. Each author was allowed to use his own language, but the contribution was, under the supervision of the Editor,

translated into English; each author is held responsible for his facts and figures, and the final proof was submitted to him so as to insure that responsibility. While, on the one hand, mathematical, physical, commercial, and political treatment of the subject was not excluded, on the other hand, it was understood that a book on Geography must be written from a strictly geographical point of view. The general description of a continent must refer only to the largest and most determinative features, and these should be taken in the following order: coasts, surface, geology, climate, flora, fauna, anthropology, history, including territorial changes of the highest order.

Seventy-nine letters of invitation to possible contributors were issued in October, 1897. Forty-seven of the authors thus invited at once agreed to contribute; on each refusal a second author was applied to, and nineteen accepted; in ten cases a third author had to be applied to. In the course of this operation 122 letters were exchanged with correspondents in all parts of the world, from Norway to New Zealand. Each section bears the author's name, and seven European languages are represented in these communications.

The spelling of place-names presented a serious difficulty. The division of the subject is into countries, where there is a special alphabetical system, and into countries where there is none. The transliteration of the former was difficult. As regards the latter, the rules of the Royal Geographical Society were adopted whenever the pronunciation was known. The names of places in British India are given throughout according to the rules of the Government of India.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland occupies a larger space than any other great country, because the materials available were fuller. Other countries have been treated with equal care. No part of the world dominated by Western civilization is viewed as a foreign land.

All details of Anthropology which have no bearing on Geography, such as religion, language, education, culture, are rigorously excluded or lightly noticed. Geography, and Geography alone, is the subject and object of the book, for a treatise *de omnibus rebus* has no limit. The subject, being strictly limited, has been treated systematically, on understood plans and principles, in an orderly manner, leaving no room for partiality or prejudice, with a uniform terminology, with no allusions to past history or dipping into future possibilities. Turning to Chapter LII., pages 986 to 1014, we are informed all about South Africa by competent persons; at pages 469 to 503 British India is fully illustrated. There is a danger in knowing too much of a particular region, and there is a greater danger in knowing too little and supplementing ignorance with platitudes. Both these errors are avoided.

I do not recommend this book to continuous reading from the first to the last page, as this would prove wearisome, unless to a student, who is getting up the subject preparatory to an examination in Geography. There are no large maps in the volume, but several hundred small illustrations. There are no sheets of statistics which crush the inexperienced reader, but at the end of the descriptions of each country there is a uniform statistical

note of the population and area, and a few other details. At page 188 the population of the globe is distributed according to races. An ethnologist might take exception to this distribution and to the word "race" as applied here; but it is sufficient for a treatise on Geography, and runs as follows:

I. White, called Caucasians	...	...	770,000,000
II. Yellow " Mongols	...	...	540,000,000
III. Black " Ethiopians	...	...	175,000,000
IV. Red " Americans	...	...	22,000,000

Grand total 1,507,000,000

The treatise is up to date, and worthy of the *fin de siècle*. I place by its side on my table Arrowsmith's "Compendium of Ancient and Modern Geography" prepared for the use of Eton College in 1831, two years before I entered that school; it was considered a prodigy of knowledge then, and it is illustrated by the accompanying Eton atlas. Let us speak reverently and gently of our predecessors seventy years ago, hoping that our descendants in the years preceding A.D. 2000 will do the same to us of this generation.

R. N. CUST.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

14. *British Africa (British Empire Series)*. This is a comprehensive and interesting book, which perhaps naturally devotes more consideration to our newer and healthier possessions in the south and east than to the old though commercially valuable settlements on the deadly "West Coast." Still, it again makes plain the fact that white men can successfully colonize the south, while the Guinea shore will probably remain a black man's land. Various well-qualified writers set forth the history of southern Africa from its discovery by Diaz and misrule by the Dutch East India Company to the Boers' great trek, and later the opening up of Rhodesia and Uganda, as well as the physical features of the different territories. Some of the articles almost of necessity overlap; but although space forbids the mention of each in detail the collection is well-balanced; that is to say, the side of Boer and native is shown as well as the Imperialistic colonizer's views.

Among others, the pictures of beautiful Natal, garden of South Africa, and Rhodesia are particularly pleasing, and we note how in the latter excellent work is being done by young Englishmen from what may be termed the higher walks of life. The writer has found in other parts of the world that the best of such not only set some stamp of refinement upon very rough places, but also, strange to say, do the hardest and dirtiest things as efficiently as any to the manner born. Still, there is another kind, the "remittance men," who, levying blackmail on friends at home and degenerating into loafers, are anything but a blessing to any colony. We find it stated, however, that there are none of these in Rhodesia. The Boer is also shown both as an industrious farmer, and a sanctimonious ruffian whose knowledge of truth is represented by the symbol X, and who considers any scheme for improvement rank impiety. It may interest

some to learn that the population of the Transvaal consists of 27 per cent. Boers and 73 per cent. of other nationalities, practically all British, and that the former come of Gallic Huguenot as well as Teutonic stock.

The native question is ably treated, one article setting forth the fine qualities of the Zulus, and laying a heavy responsibility upon their—to use a mild term—British mismanagement; while two very old problems which have never been fully solved are hinted at—whether the black man is improved by Christianity as it is taught to him, and to what extent we are justified in robbing him of his land. To the latter the Colonists' rejoinder, voiced by one writer is, "No race in the world has a perpetual right to territory which it abuses. And from this race or individual which cumbers the ground the ground must pass away."

There is a clear picture of the Zanzibar Protectorate, with a history from its foundation by Muscadine Arabs, and once more it becomes evident that the Arab's work in South-east Africa has been insignificant compared to his work in the north and west, where, instead of stealing him, he set a stamp of superiority and even of civilization upon the negro. Next follows a spirited vindication of British policy in Egypt, though the French who have, so it is shown, persistently hampered our improvements there would probably object to its being classified as British Africa.

Last come the West Coast colonies, where British commerce is advancing by leaps and bounds, and white men die even faster than they did at the beginning, behind which lie decadent but still partly civilized and powerful Moslem Sultanates. Here there is a clever study of native character by Miss Kingsley, and the civilized and converted negro appears again. One writer shrewdly observes that it might be better to teach him to work with his hands rather than ape the European, and become too often an unreliable clerk. The writer, knowing the species, agrees with this, but the process of teaching manual labour has sometimes in South Africa, at least, become synonymous with slavery. After all, as Miss Kingsley relates in a characteristic anecdote, the factories of West Africa are but the porter's lodge—the real settlement is the crowded cemetery.

British Africa is a kaleidoscopic mixture of malarial jungle, scorching uplands, giant ranges, and fertile hill-slopes, all manner of climates, nations, and languages, and this book throws a partial light upon it. No whole library could do so fully.—H. B.

15. *India* ("British Empire Series," vol. i.), with two maps. This work, the first of the "British Empire Series," contains twenty-three essays; nineteen deal with India, and the rest with Ceylon and the British settlements in the Far East. The majority of the essays were delivered as lectures before the South Place Ethical Society; but, with one or two exceptions, the form of the lecture has not been allowed to mar the literary character of the work. The essayists are all experts; popular governors, distinguished officials, and natives, not only gentlemen of standing, but also native ladies, have contributed their quota. The general aim of the essayists has been to describe the past and present condition of the provinces with which they deal, to show the political and economic results of British rule and the methods of British administration, and to bring

educated Englishmen into sympathetic contact with the strange civilizations and the infinite variety of peoples that find shelter beneath the broad-spreading ægis of British supremacy. In a work of this kind there is necessarily a certain want of unity perceptible, a discordance of views, an inequality of grasp. Experts are not always the best exponents of their knowledge; it requires practice and some innate literary skill to bring out the salient features of a complex subject, and above all it requires the power of projecting one's self imaginatively into the position of the hearer. An English audience requires things to be explained, associations to be unravelled, misunderstandings to be guarded against, which to the expert are so obvious that they require neither mention nor explanation. As a whole, these papers do not err in this respect (they keep the salient points well in view); some of them are eminently readable, and only two or three are overburdened with details and a lack of proportion. One of the best is Mr. Baines' introductory essay on "Our Great Dependency." Mr. Baines opens with a favourite but somewhat disputable aphorism regarding the value of a stranger's first impressions, his vivid grasp of all that is prominent or new as contrasted with the detailed, laborious, and overcharged knowledge of the expert. But Mr. Baines' immense practice in dealing with huge and complex masses of facts has enabled him, despite his supposed disadvantages as an expert, to write a capital paper.

Obscurity and want of proportion cannot be charged against the essayists as a body, but several of them are guilty of that most common fault of lecturers—the assertion of highly controversial opinions as indubitable truths. "In my lectures I say what I think," a German professor once remarked, "but in my books I put only what I know;" and several of the lecturers appear to practise the same rule. But the chief defect of the work is not that it is written by experts who occasionally express very decided opinions, but that it did not have an expert for an editor. The originating idea was good, but it required an expert to map out the ground-plan, to harmonize the contradictions, and to give unity to the whole. The book suffers from redundancy and from defect. Thus we are told four times over, and at great length, of the official machinery in all its details—the commissioners, collectors, judges, and the rest—and yet no one could imagine from this book that there was a material difference between the administrative systems of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal; nor could any unsophisticated reader by any chance discover what a non-regulation province means. Again, we have an article on Indian industries, but its manufactures are of infinitely less importance to India than its agriculture, and yet no paper on Indian agriculture is forthcoming. The essay on ancient Indian history is scarcely relevant to the main object of the work, and it is so slight that it might advantageously have been omitted. But if it were to be treated at all, it should have been entrusted to a competent scholar like Mr. Vincent Smith; and then why omit all mention of Muhammadan history, seeing that it bears so directly upon the present condition of the provinces? Nothing is said in this volume of Indian religions, probably because they have been dealt with in previous publications of the South Place Ethical Society; but their omission detracts from

the value of Miss Hughes' interesting paper on Indian, or rather Sanskrit literature. The reader would not conjecture that there exists, or ever has existed, in India any literature except in Sanskrit. The volume therefore suffers both from deficiency and redundancy. It might have been enlarged with advantage, and the essays relating to the dependencies of the Colonial Office transferred to another volume. But the central idea is excellent, and the English reader will be able to form some idea of the physical aspects of the country, the look of the inhabitants, the political and economic questions with which the British Government has had to deal. Of the infinite variety of races and of tribes, the strange and complex civilizations, the spiritual worlds of the Orient, his notions will be vague; and of the novelty, the exhilaration, the glamour, of the East he will form no conception whatever. Curiously enough, there is no formal essay on the relations of England to India; and the evolution of Indian society and ideas under the impact of Western civilization is seldom touched on by the essayists. Sir R. West treats of it more fully than any of the others in a Prologue which is one of the best, or rather the very best and most thoughtful paper in the book. The passing reader cannot do better than lay to heart Sir Raymond's moral: "There must be a recognition of the teachings of actual experiment, but especially of that greatest lesson—that disdain is the outcome and the sure sign of stupidity."

The book is well printed, and published at a very moderate price.—J. K.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LIMITED; LONDON, 1899.

16. *Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates*, by HERBERT VIVIAN, M.A., author of "Servia: The Poor Man's Paradise," etc. The author has produced a work, handsomely printed, profusely illustrated with photographs and a map, of scenes which he has personally visited. Should the reader desire instruction as to places, persons, habits, costumes, and other peculiarities of the various tribes, races, and nationalities of this comparatively unfrequented but interesting region, he will find the descriptions of one who has a keen eye of observation, common-sense, wit and humour. Works hitherto published in English belong to the past, and those of the French, in the author's opinion, are "prejudiced and stupid." It will serve the threefold purpose—to the traveller a pleasant and indispensable companion, a tribute to the last survivors of a grand medieval race, and a possible avenue of retrieving an opportunity lost by the Berlin Treaty towards promoting real civilization and commerce, and by which he considers British prestige and commerce were sacrificed.

The volume contains an historical résumé from ancient times—the French administration, the position of Islam, the Jews, Tunis and its suburbs, trade and agriculture, administration of justice and education, beasts and feathered fowl, and a description of Tripoli, with a copious index.

Bizerta has created an interest from the rumour that it had been ceded to Russia for a coaling station. The author observes that it might have been obtained "by England forty or fifty years ago, but our naval authorities rightly judged that it was not worth troubling about." Stress has been laid

upon the fact that all the fleets of the world might easily be concealed there, and, awaiting their opportunity, might sally forth and command the Mediterranean. The lake behind the town is equal in area to the whole city of Paris, and is probably the largest harbour in the world. "But most naval experts are agreed that, though all the navies of the world may take refuge in such a harbour, they will by no means find it so easy to come out again. A ship or two judiciously sunk at the entrance to the canal (which the French have cut) would 'bottle up' the fleets for weeks or months." However, for full information about that and similar topics, and descriptions of the humorous incidents and stories from the author's facile pen, we commend our readers to peruse the whole of this delightful and instructive volume.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

17. *Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, by BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Chamberlain, who has already done so much for the student and the traveller in Japan, has followed up the third edition of his "Colloquial Handbook" by giving to the public a splendid work upon the above subject. The number of people in Europe and America who really understand the Japanese written character from a historical point of view is so limited that a detailed account of its growth here would either be superfluous, or would occupy a space disproportionate to the number of readers interested. The Japanese originally had no writing of any kind, and when first they were brought into contact with the Chinese ideographs (which as a matter of fact can be read out, so far as their meaning goes, in any language under the sun), either read them out in their own tongue, or used them phonetically; or, where they expressed new ideas, adopted and adapted their sounds as well as their meanings. At the time when diplomatic relations *vis à vis* Corea and commercial relations *vis à vis* Ningpo were first active and regular—*i.e.*, about 1,400 years ago—the Chinese had developed a very artistic system of abbreviated or ultra-demotic calligraphy; and the arrival of very numerous batches of Hindu missionaries at the same period introduced almost simultaneously into China, Corea, and Japan quite new notions upon etymology, syllables, alphabets, and so on. The result of all this was that fragments of Chinese characters, or the whole of certain Chinese characters written in abbreviated forms, began to come into use with merely phonetic value. The effect of this upon Sanskrit or Pali, and upon Corean, need not be further enlarged upon here; but the gradual result in Japan was to create a most complicated system of writing, calculated or rather destined to reconcile the polysyllabic Japanese with the monosyllabic Chinese, whose nasals, tones, and aspirates were totally foreign to the Japanese genius, and could not be imitated. The object of the magnificent volume now under notice is to guide the European student step by step through this historic maze, and, in so doing, to enable him, also step by step, as in the case of the early Japanese, to avail himself of the ideographs, and of their excrescences and aftergrowths, as a means for expressing himself in writing in the mixed Japanese language of to-day. The Annamese, the Coreans, the Cathayans, the Tanguts, and the Golden Tartars have all in turn endeavoured to create new syllabaries or alphabets

out of mutilated Chinese characters ; but in the last three cases the visible efforts never seem to have achieved enduring practical result at all, and are at present quite undecipherable ; whilst in the two former instances the "vernacular," or adapted writing, has never produced any literature worthy of the name, and has always taken a "back-seat" and been merely ancillary to the more lucid Chinese ; and even that in a half-ashamed sort of way. It has only been in Japan, vigorous, "cocky" Japan, that native energy has been strong enough to assert itself to the extent of imposing its own development of Chinese upon true Chinese on absolutely equal terms. Just as the despised vernaculars of Europe were centuries before they could "catch on" in turn and displace the Latin monopoly of literature, so the *majiri* or "mixture" of Japanese has had to fight hard and obstinately in order to displace the pure Chinese monopoly of literature in Japan.

Even as a work of art, Mr. Chamberlain's book is deserving of a place on the drawing-room table, for the plates are beautifully finished and the character models are perfect. The only thing in true art the Chinese have ever achieved is calligraphy ; and if they appear to have achieved it elsewhere, as in porcelain for instance, it is because their best porcelain largely depends upon calligraphy for its grace and ornament. Upon this calligraphy the Japanese have successfully ventured to improve ; and though they have adhered to classic models to the last, they have managed to impart a dash and a verve to the demotic forms which the best Chinese masters of antiquity might envy.

But, apart from its artistic value, Mr. Chamberlain's noble work saves the student from profitless grinding. It marshals forth the why and the wherefore of each apparently complicated rule in such an orderly and systematic way that any industrious learner may now achieve, with the minimum of native technical assistance, results which hitherto certainly not a dozen Europeans have ever managed. Some people may be inclined to ask : Is the victory worth achieving ? It is certainly a great thing to be able to glance quickly through the best Japanese newspapers ; and in time of war a man who could promptly decipher important communications would be invaluable, not to mention the importance of being able to correspond freely and safely with an ally or an enemy. In any case, Mr. Chamberlain's book is the first systematic one of its kind, and it will probably continue to be the best for many generations.

E. H. PARKER.

SANDS AND CO. ; LONDON, 1899.

18. *China*, by HAROLD E. GORST ("The Imperial Interest Library," edited by HAMISH HENDRY). Mr. Gorst has produced a very readable book, and has certainly succeeded in showing up very clearly some of the chief points in the political problems which present themselves to us, now that up-to-date events have altered the bearings of the general outlook in the Far East. The author, who has evidently not been to China, to a certain extent disarms criticism at the outset by paying his possible critics the compliment of assuring them that almost any one of them would have done better than himself, had that one seen fit to take up the task to which Mr. Gorst has devoted his energies. It is, however, by no means certain

that such is the case. Almost everyone in the Far East has, or has had, his own private axe to grind, or his own biased ideas to air, and it is just as well that a complete outsider, taking up the ravelled ends of interested controversy for himself, should endeavour to produce an independent pattern of his own working, and this from a purely objective point of view. Taking a general survey of the whole situation, Mr. Gorst falls promptly into line with those who think that Great Britain has sadly neglected her duty, and criminally let slip her many opportunities. Perhaps it is a wholesome thing for Her Majesty's Governments that they should be periodically gibbeted as incompetents, just as it is sound policy for the Navy League to keep the Admiralty up to the mark by drawing ghastly pictures of our coming naval decadence: in the same way, to descend to a much lower step in the scale, it is on the whole good that Consuls should occasionally be locally stigmatized as "duffers," so that they may not take things too easy when a missionary gets his head punched, or a British trader has his cargo of pigs confiscated; his cottons subjected to *likin*, extortion, and detention, and so on. In pointing to the successes of Russia, Germany, and France, Mr. Gorst seems inclined to slur over as a mere nothing our own important territorial extension opposite Hongkong, and to lay all possible stress upon the (alleged) fact that barren Wei-hai Wei is the only "compensation" we can point to. The Lu-Han Railway, the Fives-Lille concession (a miserable failure as yet), the Nan-ning Line, the proposed (as yet only proposed) purely German lines to Tsinan and Wei Hien, all loom very big in his eyes; whilst the British concessions, which really are equal to all the others put together, and the only ones likely to really pay quickly, are pooh-poohed as though they were mere asses masquerading in lions' skins. England owes all she possesses to the energy of her sons, especially her trading sons; her Government has always manipulated the brake rather than the whip or spur, and therefore on the whole it is perhaps well that the flesh of Her Majesty's Ministers should be made to creep occasionally in order that they may not relapse into indolence. But, whilst this is admitted, after all there is a good deal to be said for Sir Claude Macdonald's point of view, namely, that we have come out of the scrimmage pretty well—in fact, very well—after all. If we failed to foresee what a fraud Chinese "power" was, we did so in the good company of France, Russia, and Germany. If we failed to get those Powers to join us in stopping the war, that was no fault of ours; and if we refused to join them in meanly defrauding Japan of her hard-earned rights, we at any rate secured for ourselves morally in the eyes of both China and Japan a better permanent position than the three Powers did. China's kind "friends" commenced to grab before any thought of aggrandisement entered the brain of her "enemy," who thus stood aside to see common fair play. Japan, a country which possesses in an unrivalled degree both the means and the power to preserve impenetrable secrecy, is digesting her unforgettable insult in ominous silence. What with the smothered enmity of Japan, the wedging in of Germany, and the advent of the United States into the Pacific, Russia's prospects of securing China were never more remote than they are now. Moreover, the *Economist* has clearly proved her to be financially at least

as badly off as Japan. Man for man, the Japanese (especially in the summer season) are better fighters and marchers than the Russians. They cost one-tenth the sum to feed, present 50 per cent. less surface for the bullets to hit, fear no sun, are individually intelligent, require next to no baggage, and know absolutely no fear. They are as much ducks on the water as they are monkeys on the hills, and if war were to break out to-day it is as likely as not that they would, left alone with Russia, get the best of it *sur toute la ligne*. This, then, is one result of a crafty policy. Again, who can blame us for not foreseeing the action of Germany at Kiao Chou? As a matter of fact, it now rather suits us; but it was impossible to be proud of hitting a man under the belt when he was down, still less to predict such a departure from the rules of diplomatic sport. The fact is, if we have been slow to see the new position, at least we have not lost our heads or done anything despicable. At present Russia's policy seems to be to detach American sympathies from the "open door" by offering them the bait of first refusals of land at Ta-lien Wan.

So much for the main political idea which runs through Mr. Gorst's book. By all means let us keep poking up our Government to activity, but let us take a liberal grain of mental salt before we seriously swallow our proffered doses of regret at lost opportunities. The excellent article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* shows that *nos bons amis les Anglais* are viewed by the French political adventurers in a very different light from that in which our Jingoës present them to us. As to the other chapters in the book, those on China's Resources, the Yangtze Valley, the Records of the Past, Civilization, Scientific Ignorance, Farming, Family Life, Artisans, Modern Factories, Guilds, Literati, Government and Mandarins, Religion, Missionaries, Army, Relations with Europe, Recent Developments, etc.—all these are written in a pleasant, readable style; and if they display here and there inaccuracies, these are mostly of the kind involved in the celebrated description of a crab as "a red fish which walks backwards"; that is, any man who has correct and specific information on any definite subject at once discerns numerous trivial mistakes in points of detail, though these little flaws are not as a rule of such a kind as to make the book an unsafe guide for the "man in the street," to whom it may therefore honestly be recommended as a good, popular work, without any pretensions to profundity or authoritativeness, but giving in the main a fair presentment of China as she now stands, and of her new political possibilities as they are usually conceived.

The pictures are very good, though some of them seem to be old friends, and the women have all been taken from one province. The man on p. 115 is certainly no merchant; he looks like a Mandarin's card-bearer or out-door manager, and wears Northern official attire: he might possibly be a Muhammadan horse-dealer from the Government studs.—E. H. PARKER.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Fusoku Gaho. A modern publication. An illustrated magazine of the manners and customs of the Japanese. Printed and published in Tokyo, Japan. This number illustrates and treats in the text the calamity

of the seismic wave that struck the coast between Sendai and Aomora in July, 1896, on the festival day of Tango no Sekku or the Boys' Feast of Flags.

The Upanishads, 3 vols., published by V. C. Seshacharri, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., and printed by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras. The Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary, translated by S. Sitarama Sastri, B.A. The first volume contains the Isa, Kena, and Mundaka; the second, Katha and Prasna; the third (and the fourth, not yet published), the Chha'ndogya, translated by Pandit Gangânâtha Jha, M.A., F.T.S., of Darbhanga. The translations are exact, very readable, exceedingly well printed in a very convenient and handy form.

Travels in the Transvaal, by CHARLES J. H. HALCOMBE. (London: Thomas Burleigh.) An instructive account of the experiences of a traveller in the Transvaal, his adventures and impressions of Cape life.

Bulawayo up to Date, edited and enlarged by WALTER H. WILLS and J. HALL, jun., 1899. (London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Limited.) A very useful guide to all who desire important information in an authentic form of the vast region now known as Rhodesia, including references to Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and adjoining regions, with pleasing illustrations of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Marquis of Abercorn, Mr. Mnguire, and others connected with Rhodesia.

In a Corner of Asia, by HUGH CLIFFORD. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) This handy and readable little volume gives tales and impressions of men and things in the Malay Peninsula, by one who admires its scenery and loves its races and people, their habits and curious customs. The author says: "Since my brown friends and their surroundings have been to me things very real and very lovable, these tales have written themselves, bringing me much pleasure in their fashioning; and if they serve to pass an idle hour for others, they will have achieved perhaps the only object for which they are fitted."

Transvaal War Atlas. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row.) Twenty-three pages of well-got-up maps, followed by an interesting description of the Boers and Boerland. Well worth a shilling.

Arabic Self-Taught (Syrian), with English Phonetic Pronunciations, by C. A. THIMM, F.R.G.S.; edited by A. HASSAM and Professor G. HAGOPIAN. (London: E. Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey.) This useful little work gives, in a simple, clear, and distinct manner, vocabularies, elements of grammar, idiomatic phrases and dialogues, travel talk, and a short dictionary on English and Arabic. It contains also very useful suggestions to a beginner who desires to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the language. The system of transliteration has been carefully arranged to give the correct *phonetic* pronunciation, in accordance with the plan recommended by the Oriental Congress. Those proposing to travel in Egypt and the Sudan will find this primer exceedingly useful.

Natural and Artificial Methods of Ventilation. (London: Robert Boyle and Son, Limited.) A short compilation of the best authorities on an important subject relating to health and the means to be adopted, on

an intelligent comprehension of the laws which govern the movements of air, and the utilization of the natural forces which are necessary in their operation.

New Century Library. The works of Charles Dickens. Vol. I., "The Pickwick Club." (Edinburgh, London, and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.) The special feature of the series which are to compose this library is, that the volumes are to be of pocket-size, the type a large and beautiful long primer on very thin paper, called "royal" India paper. The library is an entirely new departure, and these small India volumes will doubtless be welcomed alike for pocket and library use.

We acknowledge with thanks the reception of the following:

Tuberculosis, the Journal of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and other Forms of Tuberculosis, vol. I., No. 1 (published by the Association, 20, Hanover Square, W.);—*Climate, a Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel*, vol. I., No. 1 (Livingstone College, Stratford, E., and Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co.);—*The War and its Causes*, by G. P. GOOCH, M.A. (The Transvaal Committee, St. Ermin's Mansions, Westminster, S.W.);—*The Periodical* (Oxford University Press Warehouse, London);—*Shaaddarcaneshu en religionsstudie. I. Prolegomena till den indiskt ortodoxa filosofien* (af Oscar Valentin, Stockholm, Fosterlandsstiftelsens forlags-expedition);—*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office.* Part VI, Sanskrit Literature. B. Poetical Literature. I. Epic Literature. II. Pauranik Literature;—*Report on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the year 1897-98* (Government Press, Bombay, 1899);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending June 30th, 1899*;—*La Grande Revue de l'Exposition, 1900 (Supplément illustré de la Revue des Revues)*, No. 1, November, 1899 (Avenue de l'Opera 12, Paris);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxix., part 5;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*La Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes rendus des séances de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From George Newnes, Limited, London: the last three numbers of *The Strand Magazine*—*The Royal Atlas of England and Wales*, parts 12-15—*The Wide World Magazine*, October, November, December, 1899—*The Captain*, vol. II., parts 7-9—*Through the Dark Continent*, by H. M. Stanley, part 18 (now complete)—*The Arabian Nights*, parts 7-12 (complete in 20 parts)—*Tit-Bits' Citizens' Library: The Romance of the Victoria Cross—Tit-Bits' Monster Rhyme Book and Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, part 1 (to be completed in 8 parts);—*The North American Review*, October, November,

December, 1899 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), vol. xvi., No. 1, October, 1899 (the University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—*Current Literature*, vol. xxvi., No. 6, December, 1899 (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, October, 1899 (Tunis);—*The Monist*, October, 1899 (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*The Harvest Field* (London: Foreign Missions Club);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, No. 1, Session 1899-1900 (Northumberland Avenue, London);—*The Madras Review*, vol. v., No. 19, November, 1899 (Madras).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, translated by various Oriental scholars, and edited by F. Max Müller, vol. ii. (Oxford University Press);—*Prisoners their own Warders*, by Major J. F. A. McNair (Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster);—*In Western India: Recollections of my early Missionary Life*, by the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D. (David Douglas, Edinburgh);—*Builders of Great Britain Series: Rajah Brooke*, by Sir Spenser St. John, G.C.M.G. (T. Fisher Unwin, London);—*In Moorish Captivity: An Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus 1897-98*, by Henry M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, vols. iv. and v. of Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by George E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London);—*The Romance of Australian Exploring*, by G. Firth Scott (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London);—*Historical Geography of the British Colonies: Vol. IV., South and East Africa*, by C. P. Lucas, B.A. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford);—*America in Hawaii*, by Edmund James Carpenter (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited, London);—*Picturesque Kashmir*, by Dr. Arthur Neve, illustrated by Geoffrey W. Millais (Sands and Co., London);—*The Practical Study of Languages*, by Henry Sweet, LL.D. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*Rulers of India: Bābar*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A. (Oxford Clarendon Press);—*Il Ce-Kiang studio geografico-economico*, by Dr. Mario Carli (E. C. Forzani, Rome, and Luzac and Co., London);—*The Bride's Mirror or Mir-ātu L-Arūs* of Maulavi Nazir-Ahmad, edited (by permission of the author) in the Roman character, with a vocabulary and notes by G. E. Ward, M.A. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, 1899, London);—*The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, by B. H. Baden-Powell, M.A., C.I.E. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1899);—*Judaism and Islam*, by Abraham Geiger (Simpkins, Marshall and Co., London);—*The Moorish Empire: a Historical Epitome* by Budgett Meakin (Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The latest reports up to the middle of December show that the season continues practically rainless. The short north-east monsoon has seriously affected Madras, Mysore and Haiderabad. The agricultural area most seriously affected comprises 100,000 square miles in British territory, with a population of about 15,000,000 and 250,000 square miles of native territory, with a like population. Those in parts of the northern division of the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana, the Central Provinces, and the Panjāb are the worse sufferers. There were (December 10) on the relief works : Bombay, 315,000 ; Panjāb, 81,000 ; Central Provinces, 812,000 ; Berar, 106,000 ; Ajmir, 101,000 ; Rajputana, 122,000 ; Central India, 41,000 ; Bombay States, 339,000 ; Baroda, 288,000 ; total, 2,205,000. The Government has agreed to make loans to assist the Native States.

There have been full average rice crops throughout Burma and Bengal. Both provinces are prosperous, and can supply the distressed area. The autumn harvest in North-Western Provinces is two-thirds of the average.

The Darjeeling district was visited at the end of last September by a succession of earthquake shocks, following on a tremendous rainfall, occasioning extensive landslips. Great damage was done to tea plantations. The loss of life was over 400, including some European children, in addition to many drowned in the plains.

The Hon. Sir H. Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., has been appointed Governor of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst, whose tenure of office expires next month.

The Government has approved of Mr. Tatás' scheme for an India University of Research as recently promulgated by the Simla Conference. The resolutions of the Conference, with which the Government's conclusions are in complete accord, will be published at once.

His Excellency Lord Curzon has made a tour, which included Delhi, where he met with a cordial reception. He appreciated the good management of local affairs there, especially the adequate sanitation, the water supply, and the development of trade and industry. He visited the plague hospitals and famine works in the Central Provinces, from whence he went to Bhopal, Gwalior, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, etc., and back to Calcutta.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—An arrangement has been concluded with the Adam Khel Afridis, whereby a road will be constructed through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar to Kohat.

Owing to fears of a rising under the Mulla Powindah, the 4th Sikhs, a squadron of the 5th Panjāb Cavalry, and No. 6 Mountain Battery moved from Dera Ismail Khan to Tank under the command of Colonel Pollock.

All the regular troops have now been withdrawn from the Khaibar Pass, in accordance with the arrangements under which the Pass will be guarded by the Khaibar Rifles.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Maharaja of Kuch Behar having volunteered for field service in South Africa, his services were accepted, and he was placed on the personal staff of Sir Redvers Buller.

During the recent disastrous floods at Baghalpūr, in the Bengal Presidency, 25 square miles of country were inundated, 20 villages swept away, 250 lives lost, 8,700 houses destroyed, and 5,700 cattle drowned.

The continued mismanagement of the Holkar State has resulted in the appointment of Major Jennings as Special Political Agent, under the Agent to the Governor-General. The introduction of some very necessary reforms will be appreciated by H.H. the Maharaja, and will enable the State to take its proper place in the estimation both of his own people and of the Supreme Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb at Lahore invested H.H. the Raja of Jhind, who has attained his majority, with ruling powers.

BURMA.—The programme of the third delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier has been completed. Mr. Stirling has been appointed Assistant-Commissioner, Mr. Litton, British Consul at Szu-mao, Chinese adviser, and Brigadier Liu again represents China.

BALUCHISTAN.—In consequence of a scarcity, especially in the Zhob Valley, relief works are about to be opened.

Colonel Wyllie, the Agent of the Governor-General, has visited Nushki, and was received with marked cordiality by all the leading chiefs of the district.

Reports from Kabul prove that the Amir of AFGHANISTAN is in very good health, and is actively discharging the duties of government.

PERSIA.—There was a fanatical outbreak against Christians last September in the town of Kazvin, who are composed principally of Armenians and Russian traders, some of whom were assaulted and their houses looted. On representations being made to the Shah, the latter threatened to send troops to administer punishment, whereupon the Governor of Kazvin arrested about 300 persons, and punished them in different ways.

It is announced that the Russian engineer Sakhansky is organizing a party to survey a route for a Russian railway through Persia to the Persian Gulf.

A destructive fire occurred in November at Resht, the capital of Ghilan, when all the bazaars and sixteen caravanserais were totally consumed.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Twenty villages were razed to the ground, and many lives lost, by the earthquake which occurred in the *vilayet* of Aidin in September last. An *Irādē* ordains the division of Yemen into four *vilayets*.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem has protested against the election of Malateos as Patriarch of Antioch, and alleges that if the Porte recognised the election serious troubles would arise.

The Government has resolved to grant the concession for the Baghdad railway to the Deutsche Bank, and the Sultan by an *Irādē* has authorized the Anatolian Railway Company to construct a line from Konieh to Basra *viâ* Baghdad.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Russian Government has decided to establish new schools at Geok-tépé, Chikishlär, Ashkábád, Merv, Charjui, Kizil Arvat, and other places in the Transcaspian provinces, with the view of more thoroughly reconciling the natives to the Russian Government.

Railway traffic between Stretensk and Chita, in the Trans-Baikal territory, was opened last month, and with the opening of navigation on the Shilka and Amur rivers, St. Petersburg will be in direct steam communication with Vladivostok.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—A Spanish Commission, which started in October last to endeavour to negotiate the release of Spanish prisoners at Tarlac, returned without having accomplished its purpose.

The rainy season is retarding the prosecution of the campaign by the Americans. General Otis has under his command a force of about 65,000 men, which will eventually be able to subdue the insurgents.

The American Philippine Commission has submitted its preliminary report, which sets forth that no course is possible for the United States but to maintain its sovereignty over the islands, and force the insurgents to submit to American authority.

Tarlac, the headquarters of the Filipino Government, was captured on November 12.

SAMOAN ISLANDS.—The treaty for the partition of these islands between the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, was signed at Washington on December 2. See our Notes in this number.

CHINA.—Sir Claude Macdonald has returned from England to his duties in Peking fully recovered in health.

Arrangements have been completed with the Russo-Chinese Bank for a loan of 1,200,000 taels for the construction of the Lung-chau to Nanning-fu railway.

China has accepted the Kwan-chau-wan boundaries demanded by the French Admiral.

It is stated that Li Hung Chang has been appointed by Imperial decree Minister of Commerce.

There has been a serious native anti-Christian rising at Tsi-nan-fu.

JAPAN.—The Emperor and Empress last October gave a grand banquet to commemorate the coming into operation of the revised treaties. The Emperor said he was convinced that reciprocal advantages would accrue to all parties, and he also expressed his appreciation of the sentiment of justice and friendly conciliation shown by the foreign Powers.

EGYPT.—The past year's rise of the Nile was the worst ever recorded. Every precaution had been taken to minimize the loss to the country and revenue. The area of land that remained unirrigated was over 200,000 acres. The Government has placed at the disposal of the Sirdar £10,000 for the purpose of cutting the great *sudd* of floating vegetation, which by blocking about 200 miles of the White Nile causes the river to lose itself in swamps, thus curtailing Egypt's water-supply.

There has been no case of plague at Alexandria since October 1 last.

The Powers have agreed that in future a majority of the members of the Caisse can grant sums to the Government from the Reserve Fund, except for extraordinary war credits or the cost of expeditions.

SUDAN.—On hearing that the Khalifa was advancing down the White Nile in November, Lord Kitchener left Cairo for Khartum. A column composed of 3,700 men, commanded by Colonel Sir Francis Wingate, after a decisive battle with Ahmed Fedil, the Khalifa's lieutenant, attacked and defeated the Khalifa at Om Debrikat, seven miles from El Gedid, capturing his camp. The Khalifa, his two brothers, and several Emirs were killed in action, and the remainder made prisoners, with the exception of Osman Digna, who escaped. The total number of prisoners amounted to 9,000. The casualties on our side were few in number.

EAST AFRICA, SOMALILAND.—The local mullah threatening Berbera having declared himself to be the Mahdi, and having created some disturbance, the Home Government requested the Indian Government to send some infantry and cavalry to Berbera from Aden, which has been done.

WEST AFRICA.—A punitive expedition against the Fula tribes on the Binue River has been completely successful. The troops were commanded by Captain Crawley. Eight towns were destroyed, the enemy losing heavily. The casualties on our side were few.

SOUTH AFRICA : NATAL.—Owing to the strained relations between the South African Republic and the Home Government, British and Colonial troops began, early in October, to take up positions in the Newcastle, Dundee, and Glencoe districts, and other points in proximity to the Transvaal frontier, where the Boers had been concentrating their forces. On October 9 the Transvaal Government presented to the British agent at Pretoria a note amounting to an ultimatum. The note declared that "Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic has caused an intolerable condition of things to arise," and demanded that all points of mutual difference should be regulated by arbitration; that the troops on the frontier, and all reinforcements which had arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, should be immediately withdrawn, and failing a satisfactory answer, the Republican Government would regard the action of the British Government as a formal declaration of war. On October 12 the Colony of Natal was invaded in three columns, by Botha's Pass, Laing's Nek, and Mott's Nek respectively, and Newcastle was occupied by them on that day, a large force of Free State Boers occupying the passes of the Drakensberg. The Boer plan of action was apparently to rush Pietermaritzburg and Durban, but they were checked by the forces under the command of General Symons at Glencoe, and General Sir G. White at Ladysmith. Battles were fought at Glencoe (where General Symons was mortally wounded), at Elands Laagte, and Ladysmith. At the latter place Sir G. White is besieged by a large force under the command of General Joubert. General Sir Redvers Buller, in chief command in South Africa, is now advancing in force to relieve Ladysmith via Colenso, where the enemy is holding a strong position.

On the West, at Mafeking, a small force under the command of Colonel Baden-Powell is besieged by the Transvaal Boers, as is also Kimberley, which is defended by Colonel Kekewich. A force under Lord Methuen, in advancing to the relief of Kimberley, has fought battles, at Belmont,

Graspan, Modder River, and Magersfontein, the losses on both sides being very great.

On the South, the Free State Boers have occupied several places, notably Burghersdorp, Stormberg, and Dordrecht. General Gatacre, in advancing with a force from Molteno, has suffered a serious repulse.

Lord Roberts has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and Lord Kitchener Chief of his staff.

CANADA.—The British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington has handed to Mr. Hay a note formally accepting his proposal for a temporary adjustment of the boundary of Alaska. Thus the long-expected *modus vivendi* becomes effective, and every American interest has been conserved without acting unfairly to Canada.

AUSTRALASIA.—Lord Brassey retires this month from the Governorship of VICTORIA. The South Australian Ministry has been defeated in a motion for adjournment, which was accepted as a vote of want of confidence.

QUEENSLAND.—The Ministry resigned on December 5. The Hon. R. Philp has undertaken to form a new Cabinet. The Treasury returns for the three months ended September 30 last show that the revenue amounted to £1,253,000, as compared with £1,121,000 during the same period of 1898. The expenditure was £653,000, as compared with £565,000 during the corresponding quarter of 1898. The revenue for the year amounted to £4,174,000 or £291,700 above the estimate, and the expenditure to £4,024,000. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £4,383,000, and the expenditure at £4,364,000.

The new Ministry is composed as follows: Mr. A. Dawson, Premier and Chief Secretary; Mr. H. Turley, Home Secretary; Mr. W. Kidston, Treasurer and Postmaster-General; Mr. W. H. Browne, Secretary for Mines and Education; Mr. H. F. Hardacre, Secretary for Lands and Agriculture; Mr. Fisher, Secretary for Railways and Public Works.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Ministry which had been lately formed in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Kingston's Cabinet, and of which Mr. Solomon was Premier, was defeated on December 6 by a majority of three votes on a motion proposed by Mr. Holder, Treasurer in the Kingston Cabinet, and the latter has undertaken the formation of a new Government.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the financial year amounted to £2,478,000, being £275,935 less than in the preceding year. The expenditure amounted to £2,590,357. The year commenced with a deficit of £186,800. The trade of the Colony for the year 1898 amounted to £10,201,971. For the half year ended June 30 last it amounted to £5,275,024. The profit on railways for the year 1898 amounted to 4 per cent. on the capital of £6,500,000. The gold exports to June 30 were valued at £4,899,287.

NEW ZEALAND.—The value of the exports during the quarter ended September 30 last was £2,023,000, and of the imports £2,491,000, being increases respectively of £380,000 and £178,000, as compared with the corresponding period of 1898.

The General Election has resulted in a victory for the Liberal party for the fourth consecutive time.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The expenditure during the coming financial year has been estimated at £10,000,000 and the revenue at £9,800,000. The Government has proposed to issue short-dated Treasury bills to the amount of £4,000,000, in order to cover former deficiencies.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—Surgeon-Major-General S. A. Lithgow (Mutiny, Egypt);—Surgeon-General J. M. S. Fogo (Crimea);—Major-General Bowen, late Bombay Staff Corps (South Mahratta 1844-45, Persia);—Lieut.-Colonel W. E. M. Rough, 7th Dragoon Guards (Egypt 1882, India);—Major Hotham (Afghanistan, Sudan);—Surgeon-General Sir C. A. Gordon, K.C.B. (Gwalior 1843, West Coast of Africa 1847-48, Mutiny campaign, China 1860-61);—Deputy-Surgeon-General C. M. Jessop (Crimea, Canton 1857);—Mr. R. P. Jenkins (East India Company's Civil Service 1846-73);—Mr. John Donaldson, a celebrated engineer and torpedo-boat constructor;—Colonel L. F. Campbell, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma 1886-87);—Major J. C. Marston, R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel Sir C. P. P. H. Nugent, K.C.B. (Baltic, Egypt 1882);—Sir R. H. Roberts (Crimea, Mutiny);—Colonel Grant (Mutiny);—Captain the Hon. W. Wrottesley, 4th Dragoon Guards;—Major-General A. de C. Scott, late R.E. (Crimea);—Dr. Oscar Baumann, the African explorer;—Mr. P. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P. Edin., late Colonial surgeon and inspector of hospitals at Hong Kong;—Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb (China, Burma, Baltic);—Colonel J. Sherston, D.S.O., killed in South Africa (Zulu war 1879);—Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Gunning, 1st King's Royal Rifles, killed in South Africa (Zulu war 1879, Burma 1891-92);—Captain F. H. B. Connor, 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers, killed in South Africa;—Captain G. A. Weldon, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in South Africa (Burma 1887-89);—Captain M. H. K. Pechell, 1st King's Royal Rifles, killed in South Africa (Hazara, Miranzai and Isazai expeditions, and Chitral Relief Force);—Colonel G. A. Wray, C.B., late commanding 7th Bengal Native Infantry (M'asud Waziri and Akha expeditions);—Colonel W. H. Sandham, late R.A. (Zulu war 1879);—Major Wood, 11th Madras Infantry;—The Hon. Peter Mitchell, one of the "Fathers" of Canadian Confederation;—Colonel J. J. Scott Chisholme, killed in South Africa (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major H. W. Denne Denne (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Mr. T. W. Hill, formerly East India Company's service (Mutiny);—General W. W. Anderson, late Bombay Army (Panjab 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lieut.-Colonel H. Hay, L.S.C. (Zhob Valley expedition 1884, Burma 1885-89);—Captain H. Scott (Hazara 1888, North-West Frontier 1897);—Prince Laxumanrao Baba Saheb of Mudhol;—Major-General Sir W. P. Symons, K.C.B., died of wound in South Africa (South Africa 1877-79, Burma 1885 and 1889-90, Waziri expedition, and Tirah);—Major F. L. Prendergast, R.M., 9th Sudanese Regiment (Sudan 1884);—Lieut.-General C. W. Younghusband, C.B., F.R.S., late R.A. (Crimea);—Major R. Armstrong (Burma 1887-88);—H.H. the Raja of Dewas (brother-in-law of Maharajah Scindia);—The Rev. James Kennedy, an old representative of the London Missionary

Society (Mutiny);—Major G. Burges-Short, late Manchester Regiment, and proprietor of the *Broad Arrow* and *Naval and Military Gazette*;—Commander Egerton, R.N., wounded in Natal;—Sir Josiah Rees, Chief Justice of Bermuda;—Mr. C. J. Tennant Dunlop, barrister-at-law, sometime practising in the Straits Settlements;—Major-General B. Boyle, C.B., late R.M.L.I. (China);—Major-General C. J. R. Bell, late Madras Army;—Captain D. Barker, late West India Regiment (Egypt, China and Jamaica);—Lieutenant A. E. Brabant, at Ladysmith (Matabele campaign);—Major G. G. Clowes, late 8th Hussars (Crimea, Rajputana 1858);—Captain G. Silver, at Chinde, East Africa;—Brevet Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Keith-Falconer, 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, killed in South Africa (Dongola 1896, Omdurman);—Colonel E. A. Travers (Afghan war 1878-80, Sikkim 1888, Manipur 1891, Dongola 1896, and Tirah);—Major W. W. Aubert (first and second Sikh wars);—Surgeon-Major A. Harding (Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Egypt 1882, Nile 1884-85);—Major-General E. Maberly, C.B., R.A. (Jaunpur, Mutiny war);—Sir William Dawson, a distinguished geologist (Canada);—Sir R. W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., formerly Governor-in-Chief of Barbados and the Windward Islands;—Mr. Alexander Ross, formerly Judge of the High Court of the N.-W. Provinces;—Dr. J. S. Prendergast (Crimea);—Lieut. F. L. Fryer, 3rd Batt. Grenadier Guards, killed in South Africa;—Dr. W. J. de Courcy Wheeler, M.D., formerly A.M.S. (Abyssinia);—Mr. C. B. Trevor, formerly Judge of the Calcutta High Court;—Sir H. T. A. Rainald, for many years in the Consular Service;—Colonel J. Addy, late 5th Lancers (Crimea);—Major W. L. James, Lancaster Regiment (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General W. Daunt, late Norfolk Regiment (Crimea, Afghan war 1879-80);—Mr. J. P. Allen, R.N. (Black Sea, Azoff expedition, New Zealand war 1863-64);—Captain S. L. Osborne, R.N. (Abyssinian campaign);—Major-General A. H. Paterson, formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service (Sutlej 1845-46, Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Major-General J. Jordan, C.B., late 34th Regiment (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Captain A. T. Carter, R.N. (Egypt 1882, Eastern Sudan 1884-85, Burma 1885-86);—Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles B. H. Mitchell, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements;—General Crawford Cooke, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma 1852-53);—Dr. C. A. Stark, killed at Ladysmith;—Major-General H. B. J. Wynyard (Canada 1840-45);—Captain J. C. Patterson, R.N. (Borneo 1846, East Coast of Africa, etc.);—Hon. Lionel Lee, Executive adviser to the Governor of Ceylon;—Lieut.-General C. C. Minchin, for many years a Political Agent and Commissioner in India;—Major-General C. E. Grogan (Afghan war 1879-80);—Lieut.-General J. Harpur, Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80);—Hon. G. A. Hobart Hampden, late Bombay Civil Service;—Sir George Kirkpatrick, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario;—General Wauchope, in action at Magersfontein, South Africa;—Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (Crimea, China 1860, Egypt 1882-84, Sudan 1884);—General Sir H. R. Norman, K.C.B. (Sutlej 1845-46, Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Bernard Quaritch, a great bookseller and publisher.

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PERSIA.*

BY SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

It was, I think, in the time of Edward I. that our first formal intercourse with Persia commenced, and it continued, partly commercial, partly diplomatic, through the time of Elizabeth and Charles I., down to the commencement of this century, when the relations of England with Persia became closer and more intimate. They have since fluctuated, now more cordial, now less so; now inspired by an eager interest, and now showing a most lamentable apathy; but, nevertheless, friendly, often cordial, relations with Persia have been the rule ever since the commencement of the present century. It is especially with India that the destinies of Persia must remain bound up, as closely, or nearly as closely, as those of Afghanistan on her one border, and Siam on the other.

My object is not to give a description more, or less picturesque of Persia itself, its inhabitants, its institutions, or its Government—but to remark on several of those questions which have lately attracted public attention, and the effects of which have been unduly exaggerated or over-estimated.

It is not my intention at the present moment to refer to political matters when there is so much agitation

* *Vide* "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

in all parts of the world. I would rather attempt, so far as I may, to relieve the tension which now exists with regard to the relations of England, Russia, and Persia, and avoid saying a single word which might inflame passions which have already been too carelessly excited. My object is to stimulate an interest in Persia among the financial and mercantile classes in England, and to encourage them to take a more active interest in the commercial development of the country, an interest that has been very largely shown of late years by Russia, France, Germany, and Belgium. England, the great commercial country of the world, is hanging strangely back, and this is in a great measure due to a want of co-operation amongst its financial and mercantile classes. It is true that English commerce covers so large an area, and our interests are so numerous in every part of the world, that there is a certain plausibility in the argument that we may safely neglect one particular country or one special interest. But this is not the case, and when hostile tariffs are closing door after door to English industry in every quarter, Englishmen, and especially English merchants, should second and encourage their Government in a consistent and determined effort to keep those doors open. Politics and political considerations are, of course, inseparable from any question in the East, and especially is it so with Persia.

Since I proposed to write this paper, the Russian loan to Persia has caused much perturbation in financial circles, and many excited articles have been written, both in this country and on the Continent, with the design of persuading the public that it constitutes an event of the first magnitude ; that it practically places the whole foreign policy and finances of Persia for all time in the hands of Russia, and that it is a great and permanent blow to English interests in the East. Although some feeling of nervousness and suspicion is not unnatural when we look abroad and see the persistent and malignant way in which we are attacked in the press of so many countries, yet it is as well for Englishmen, who

have the reputation of being cool and level-headed, to look things in the face like men of the world, and not to be frightened by shadows, or fancy that an ordinary financial incident of no great importance is a national misfortune.

In order to estimate this question fairly, it is necessary to consider the past history of Persian finance. If this loan were the blow that it has been represented to English interests, then indeed the object of my paper would be stultified, for it would be idle to stimulate the interests of English financiers in the development of Persia if the financial control of the country had already passed out of the hands of its Government. But this is in no way the case. When His Imperial Majesty the late Shah, whom many of you have seen in London, last came to England, Persia was in the enviable position of possessing no foreign debt whatever; but the Shah, who was an exceedingly able man, unfortunately discovered an amusement which is as fatal to a Government as gambling at Monte Carlo is to an ordinary individual: this was the game of granting concessions, by which you are able, if lucky, to obtain a great deal of money with no exertion. The consequence of this discovery was that with both hands he distributed concessions on all sides, and very soon came into conflict with the London money-market. One of his adopted schemes, known as the Lottery Concession, was especially unfortunate, and its memory is still odious to the Stock Exchange of to-day. Another concession, that of the Tobacco Monopoly, the *Régie*, was nearly as unfortunate, because, falling into inexperienced and rash hands, it excited such a fierce opposition on the part of the Persian people, and especially the Persian priestly class, the Mullahs, that the Shah was not only compelled to abandon the concession for the monopoly of tobacco purchase, sale, and manufacture in Persia, but had to pay large compensation to the company to which he had granted the concession. This necessity for the first time brought Persia into the loan market, and the Imperial Bank of Persia, which is the principal British

institution in that country, and of which I happen at the present moment to be Chairman, issued for His Majesty a loan which satisfied his liabilities, and which is now about to be paid off, with the proceeds of the new Russian loan, to the advantage of all those who originally took the bonds. After this there was a lull, and then the Persian Government, again falling into difficulties, applied to the Bank of Persia to supply funds. The London financiers were quite ready to advance the money on the security of the Customs of the Gulf ports collected and administered by the Imperial Bank, which made an advance to the Persian Government on these terms, holding the Customs collections of Bushire and Kirmansháh. The negotiations for the issue of a larger loan of one million and a quarter sterling on the security of the Southern Customs collected by Bank officials were completed, but were at the last moment broken off by the present Prime Minister, who had been in exile at Kum, and who was recalled to power. For reasons which it is unnecessary to discuss here, the Prime Minister opposed the continued administration of the Customs by officials of the Imperial Bank, and offered instead control in the event of default in payment of the instalments of the loan. Although I personally consider that this security was amply sufficient for the Gulf customs, the English money market would not grant a loan on these terms. Russia was not then disposed to assist, and the English Foreign Office was unwilling to guarantee a loan. Long negotiations ensued, and attempts by the Persian Government to raise money in France and Belgium. At last the Russians have come forward, and practically guaranteed £2,400,000, thus relieving the stress of the Persian financial position, which was exceedingly great. His Majesty the Shah was anxious to visit Europe, and to see the French Exhibition. His health is not good, and it was necessary for him to visit baths in the Caucasus and Europe. He will also visit St. Petersburg and London. Large sums are now due to civil officials and the army for long unpaid salaries, and

for many other purposes, and it is obvious that it was essential for the Persian Government to obtain money somewhere. As they could obtain it nowhere else, they had no option but to take it from Russia, which has given it on conditions much the same as the London money-market refused. If the loan did not come to England, I do not think that anyone is to blame except the London financiers themselves. They insisted upon control, and they would not give anything unless England had the Customs collection in its hands. Russia has taken it without control, and although you may say that the difference in the two positions is that the loan is virtually guaranteed by the Russian Government, yet no guarantee was virtually necessary either by England or Russia, as the revenues on which the loan is secured are amply sufficient to meet the interest, which would be paid direct to the State creditor, the balance alone going to the Persian treasury. The paying off of all foreign loans, which is a part of the contract, is a clause which was equally found in our own loan proposals. This was an integral part, and was the principal justification for the loan, which was ostensibly incurred in order to pay off a 6 per cent. loan, by one at a lower rate of interest. The only clause to which exception can be taken is that which forbids the Persian Government to borrow elsewhere without the previous consent of the Russian Bank in Teheran until their advance has been repaid. I may state that this condition is apparently an onerous one, but Persia is now entering the ranks of civilized nations. As its resources and revenues increase, as they will increase, as its wants become more numerous, and as the Government discovers that, if it is to prolong its existence, it must reform its administration, increase the productiveness of the country, build public buildings, irrigation works, roads, and railways, so undoubtedly will it require to come into the European money-market for the capital required. Then it will appear that the condition preventing the Persian Govern-

ment from applying elsewhere for loans is one which is absurd, and which will be inoperative, and cannot be enforced. This loan will not last very long. The claims now against it are exceedingly large, and Persia will soon be again in want of money. If, then, Russia prefers to lend her more money, I do not see why anyone should object to it. If Russia chooses, when her own vast empire is still entirely undeveloped, to waste her money by putting it into Persian roads and railways, I do not think that any objection can be taken. But it will really be a question of European competition. In England, where there is an immense superfluity of wealth, and where we have practically financed half the bankrupt States as well as the flourishing States of Europe and America, there is every reason for English financiers and merchants to assist a country which is, in my opinion, developing, which will give a fair return for their investments, and which will before very long take a more prominent part in the history of the world. It is not to be supposed that countries like England, Germany, and France will consent to Russia obstructing and preventing the industrial development of Persia, and neither the Shah nor his Prime Minister could desire such a result.

One question that might be asked—but to this I am not prepared to give a complete reply—is : Why did not Her Majesty's Government guarantee the loan which was proposed to us, and which then would have been willingly taken up by the London market? It is at present not my intention to criticise or defend Her Majesty's Foreign Office ; I know by my own experience that their interest in Persian affairs is great and constant, and I have often, on behalf of the Bank of Persia, to express my sense of their vigilance on our behalf. I do not think they want any apology from me, but I should like to suggest two considerations which generally govern the decisions of Her Majesty's Government in such matters. The first is this—that the English Government is a constitutional one, and

that every foreign loan must be the subject of public criticism, and sanctioned, or at any rate approved, by Parliament. The position is altogether different with a country like Russia, where the will of the Tzar, or his Ministers, is sufficient, and where no public opinion, in the proper sense of the word, exists. Foreign loans, as is well known, are not popular with the House of Commons, and exceptional circumstances are required for the Government to be able to justify them. There have, indeed, been cases where such loans have been approved. One was a sum advanced to Morocco, and the Customs were there assigned as security for repayment under a Commissioner, and the money was duly paid. There was also a brilliant exception, due to the genius and courage of Lord Beaconsfield, when the Suez Canal shares were purchased. There was also the case which, perhaps, the Government are now beginning somewhat to regret, of the China Loan, but these are exceptions, and the policy of the Government is against guaranteeing loans in foreign countries. The basis on which this policy rests is undoubtedly sound. England owes its commercial supremacy to Free Trade, and although there are politicians of standing who may question this, the great majority of Englishmen admit the principle of Free Trade to be one of the bases of our national prosperity. I may say, money is like all other commodities. There are a great many people who seem to think that money is a different commodity from sugar or salt, but it is nothing of the sort. England is now the great banker and the great clearing-house of the world simply because this is the country in which there is Free Trade in money. Directly the Government intervenes by loans to foreign countries or by guaranteeing capital invested in foreign countries there is an interference with Free Trade in money, and if such a policy were habitual England would lose the monetary position which her financial independence and impartiality have given her. At the same time, I do not conceal my personal opinion that Her Majesty's Government might with advantage have

made Persia an exception to their general policy of non-interference, and have guaranteed Persia a loan secured on the Customs of the Gulf ports. If this had been done several years ago, the position of England in Persia would to-day be stronger, and no pecuniary liability worth consideration would have attached to the British Government.

That is all, I think, I need say at present about this question of the loan. I do not consider it a triumph for Russian diplomacy, which I have always held to be of a crude and simple type, but an ordinary financial arrangement, the conclusion of which I have been expecting for several months ; while the influence of Russia in the North of Persia is so undoubted and unquestioned that I do not believe that this loan will affect it in any particular. The gratitude of nations for money lent to them is short-lived, especially when the loans are granted on terms advantageous to the lender ; and the influence of England at Teheran will only be temporarily diminished by the interested generosity of Russia. I do not desire to discuss on this occasion the kind or degree of influence which is exercised by England and Russia respectively in Persia ; but that of England is great, and has certainly increased during the last ten years, rather than diminished. All that is needed in Persia is a strong, consistent policy, determined beforehand, and followed with resolution, when we should find it easy to come to friendly arrangements with Russia and the Persian Government.

But although the position of Russia in the North is exceedingly strong from her conterminous frontier and her restless activity, I do not think that, beyond keen commercial rivalry, we have anything to complain of. That rivalry we have, and feel, and it is successful, allow me to say, very much because Russia fully understands and consistently carries out her policy of furthering in every way her trade interests, which in England are neglected both by the Government and commercial classes. Very little is done in England compared with what is done by Russia in the northern provinces of Persia. Take as an instance the

carriage-road which has just been completed from Enzeli, with its seaport Resht, to Kasvin, on the Teheran road, the company which has constructed it having the right to continue it from Kasvin to Hamadan, and to improve the existing road from Kasvin to Teheran. The first and most difficult part of this scheme has been completed, to the great advantage of traffic and the great convenience of travellers. Russia is to be congratulated on such a work, which primarily benefits her own trade, but is of advantage to all the travelling and trading world. This excellent carriage-road, crossing a difficult range of mountains, has cost about £340,000, of which half was found by the Russian Government. This road is paying a moderate dividend, and will pay a good dividend from the tolls which are now being levied upon it. There is much for England to do before it can show any expenditure like that with equal results. The great want of Persia at the present time is roads. The Imperial Bank of Persia has a concession for a road from Teheran to Ahváz, on the Karun River, going through some of the most valuable and cultivated parts of Persia. But road-making is not the legitimate work of a bank, and it was decided to suspend work further than keeping up its bridges and caravanserais, and so far as it is in working order it more than pays in tolls the expenditure which is made upon it. This road should be taken up by an English company as of supreme importance to the trade of the Persian Gulf.

I would now like to add a few words on the subject of railways in Persia. I hardly think that the time has come when railways can, on a large scale, be constructed with advantage. It is possible that some might pay, but the present necessity is good carriage-roads to supplement, and in some directions supersede, the mule tracks which at present constitute the only lines of communication in the greater part of Persia. The railway lines which promise well I would put, in order of their commercial importance, as follows :

1. Khanikin to Teheran *viâ* Hamadan.
2. Ahvâz to Shuster, Burujird and Hamadan.
3. Baku, along the Caspian to Resht.

The first, which would join the Asia Minor Railway at Baghdad, would catch a large portion of international trade, and would pass through a rich and well-populated country. The second would follow a great part of the line of road already conceded to the Imperial Bank, and would attract the British sea-borne trade to the Karun port of Muhamarah, which would at once become of more importance than Bushire. The third line, from Baku to Resht, would chiefly benefit Russian trade, owing to prohibitive duties, but it would probably pay, for the Caspian navigation is tedious and difficult from the shallowness of water and the prevalence of strong northerly winds. The natural limit of Russian railway construction is Northern Persia, for their commercial policy, rightly or wrongly, being founded on exclusiveness and prohibitive tariffs against other nations, they have no commercial reason to construct a line which would touch a seaport or any frontier except their own. They could not, therefore, be presumed to favour the lines from Khanikin to Teheran, or that from Ahvâz to Hamadân. In the same way, the idea, which some Continental papers are so fond of circulating for interested motives, of a Russian railway through Khorasan and Sistan to some port on the Persian Gulf may be dismissed as chimerical. I am referring to commercial and not to political considerations, and it is obvious that such a line would be a financial failure, while the trade which would benefit by its construction would be English and not Russian.

But it is more than doubtful whether Russia desires any railways in Persia. The late Shah, who had an instinctive and not unreasonable suspicion of railways and their results, agreed to grant a ten years' prohibitory concession against railway construction in favour of Russia, who had no money to spend on foreign railways, and did not wish other nations to do so. This agreement expires in November of the

present year, and it is for the Governments of countries like England and Germany, who have no other ambition than the peaceful development of their commerce with Persia, to decide upon an acquiescence in, or a resistance to, a renewal of an agreement which would seem hardly compatible with the equal rights of commercial nations in Eastern countries.

Another railway regarding which I would say a few words is that for which the German Government has obtained a concession, and which is the continuation of the Asia Minor line, and which is now to be continued to Baghdad, and possibly to a port called Koweit, on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, though this extension is still in doubt. I, for my part, do not hesitate to cordially welcome the advent of Germany into Asia Minor and the East. I can see for England nothing but advantage in the co-operation of Germany, which co-operation I believe will not be altogether and for ever delayed. It is a very good thing to have a third great Power competing in the East, where two, for ever face to face, are apt, most unfortunately, to develop a dangerous spirit of rivalry and hostility. With regard to Germany, although at the present moment there is no doubt an exceedingly bitter feeling against England, an irritation so illogical as to be ridiculous, yet the Emperor of Germany, who is a warm friend of this country, and who is the cleverest man in his dominions, thoroughly understands that the future of German interests demands a sensible understanding with England. I have no doubt that before very long his people will accept his view as reasonable, and that the entry of Germany into the Asian field will be for the future advantage of both countries.

The only other question regarding railways which requires notice, because it has been prominently before the public within the last few weeks, is that of connecting the Indian railways with those of Russia on the North, or Germany in the South. I understand that an able and accomplished member of Parliament, Mr. Maclean, has

advocated such a connection at a lecture at the Imperial Institute, and he asked a question about it in the House of Commons the other night. Whatever petty and problematical advantages might accrue from such a union, I would nevertheless say that the proposal is too ridiculous for discussion. I will not speak of strategic problems or of possible enemies in the East, which are outside the purpose of this paper, and, moreover, I believe that India will be able to take very good care of herself should she ever be attacked; but I would say that on commercial grounds there could be nothing more imbecile than to surrender the supremacy—the absolute supremacy—that we have in the command of the sea-carrying trade of the world by making railways through Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan in order to favour our trade rivals. No; so long as we have the command of the sea, commercially as well as in a naval sense, let us at any rate avoid the imbecility of constructing railways to convey the trade of Protectionist rivals into our Indian Empire. Besides this, we must consider and respect the susceptibilities of His Highness the Ameer of Afghanistan, our very good and very loyal ally, who most strongly objects, and I think objects on excellent grounds, to the introduction of railways into his dominions.

Regarding the Persian Gulf I do not desire to say more than a few words, because in my opinion this question must be left in the strong hands of the Government. Our position there has been founded on a consistent policy, on sacrifices and expenditure through a great number of years. We have for long been supreme in the Gulf. We constitute its police, and have maintained the Pax Britannica for the advantage of all the trading world; we are bound by engagements and treaties to almost all the chiefs of the Arab tribes on the southern coast. We have held from time to time many of the more important points on the Persian coast; we have treaty rights or occupation over some of them still; and with the remembrance of our conflicts there with Dutch and Portuguese and Arabs throughout the

whole of this century, I do not think that it is possible to assume that any British Government will allow our supremacy in the Gulf to be shaken or diminished.

The climate of the Persian Gulf is itself somewhat of a protection against European occupation. It is not a place to which we would willingly send any but our worst enemies. In Milton's poem Satan expressed the opinion that it was better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven, but I doubt if he would care to exchange thrones with the Sultan of Muscat, for example. The heat in that town is of the most tremendous description, the thermometer rising to 189° Fahrenheit, and we have withdrawn from several points of vantage on the Persian Gulf, such as Bandarabbas and Kishm, not because we were compelled by *force majeure*, but that even our native soldiers could not endure the intolerable climate. So that I do not imagine that there will be any very large rush of competitors to take our place on this undesirable coast.

I would express my conviction that although the future of Persia cannot be expected to equal its illustrious past, because climatic change as well as the devastating effects of invasion and tyranny have altered the characteristics of the country in a remarkable degree, yet, with a reasonable share of honest administration, and by the assistance of foreign capital, judiciously applied, Persia will recover much of her old prosperity. I have been intimately acquainted and connected with Persian affairs for the last ten years, and I can see a strong tide of improvement in many directions, and industries which were falling into decay are steadily improving. We know from reports which reach us from every quarter that there is progress. Silk cultivation, which was in the Middle Ages of so much importance in Persia, and which had fallen into insignificance, has in the last few years increased largely. A Greek firm was the first to start a factory; French houses at Lyons followed, with Armenians and local firms, and in the marshy province of Gilan, on the Caspian, where Resht is

situated, the silk production has doubled within the last two years. Opium cultivation is continually increasing in extent and value, and even the Japanese have agents in Persia to buy a particular opium, which is preferred to all others by their new subjects in Formosa. The production of wool and cotton has also lately doubled, and the value of land is reported to have risen 40 to 50 per cent. I possess a report from a gentleman whose work deserves acknowledgment—Mr. Naus, a Belgian, who was engaged by the Persian Government to undertake the reorganization of the Customs of Persia. To show what can be done by honest administration, the suppression of bribery, and the unification of rates, which was inaugurated by the Imperial Bank when it collected Customs in 1898, he has succeeded in a year and a half in doubling the Customs revenue of Persia, or certainly next year it will be doubled. This week some twelve more Belgian employés have arrived in Teheran, and are being distributed to the various collecting posts. The English Government has not only made no opposition to this gentleman's employment, but has been exceedingly pleased to see the quality of his work; and the Bank of Persia has nothing but good to say of the assistance which he has rendered to them.

I have endeavoured to point out to my readers that the idea that Russia has obtained any great or preponderating advantage by this loan is chimerical. A loan of the same character was offered and not accepted in London. Its present acceptance by Russia, if it were directed against anybody at all, was a gentle hint to the Germans, whose Constantinople concession of the railway to Baghdad, by the personal influence of the German Emperor, has caused extreme irritation at St. Petersburg, that they were not to be allowed without dispute to give themselves airs in Asia Minor. It was not directed against England, in my opinion, in any way; and certainly for some years past our relations in Persia with the Russian Legation have been, putting commercial rivalry aside, of

an entirely friendly character. But England does not dread or resent such rivalry. What I want, then, to press upon English merchants and financiers is this. You lend your money to everybody in the world who applies for it. You have financed all the bankrupt States of Europe and of South America, with English money. Try Persia as a field for investment—not, I say, for wild-cat, bogus schemes or concessions, but for sound honest enterprises which will benefit the Empire of the Shah, and at the same time bring a reasonable and good return to the investors. And if you would ask me to name such possible schemes, or those certainly or probably successful, I would at once mention one or two to you. In the first place, there is the irrigation of that vast tract of land, extending some 160 miles from the sea, on both banks of the Karun River. The opening of that river to navigation to the whole world was obtained by England, not for herself alone, but for everyone equally, and very little has yet been done, except by an enterprising firm, Messrs. Lynch and Co., whose name deserves all honour in Persia, and who are now endeavouring to improve the road through the mountainous Bakhtiâri country at their own expense. I say this great tract of country can with irrigation be made equal to the Delta of the Nile. The late Shah favoured this scheme, although he was rather nervous about the importation of foreign labour to work it; but he was anxious that it should be carried out, and he saw the immense advantage that it would be for his kingdom. This, however, still remains to be done, and it is for English engineers to accomplish. The millions that would be received by the Persian Government from a work like this would, by a percentage on the returns, bring most ample profits to the English investors. The English, who have turned Egypt again into the rich province that it was in the time of the Romans, who have saved India from famine in those districts where it was possible to save her, by irrigation works, can surely do this great work for Persia,

with the concurrence of His Imperial Majesty, which, for such a purpose, and with such important profits assured to him, certainly would be forthcoming. In co-operation with this work would, of course, be the improvements of the navigation of that great river, the Karun, which, it may be remembered, is the only river in Persia whose waters flow into the ocean, every other river in the North flowing into the Caspian Sea. The Karun is the one ocean river in Persia, and it has been opened to the commerce of the world by the exertions of the British Government. In connection with and synchronously with the irrigation of the Karun district should the construction of the carriage-road from Ahváz to Teheran be undertaken. This, indeed, can be commenced at once. The concession is granted, while the returns from the Russian road in the North, and from the completed portion of this road from Teheran to Kum, prove it to be an excellent investment.

I would also say that when the German railway approaches Baghdad, I trust that English capitalists will unite with German capitalists to make the extension from Baghdad to Khanikin on the Persian frontier, and continue the line from Khanikin to Teheran, which I have already mentioned as commercially sound, carrying the great pilgrim traffic of Central Asia and Persia to the celebrated shrine of Kerbela in Turkish territory.

Our policy in Persia has been throughout the whole of this generation one of peace. We have shown no desire to annex any portion of the Persian dominions; we have no territorial ambition. Our only desire in Persia is to strengthen the hands of His Majesty the Shah, and to work in accord with him for the advantage and regeneration of his country; and the Persians know this very well. They know this as well as the Ameer of Afghanistan knows it with regard to his country, and although their fear of outside pressure may induce them sometimes to be swayed by other influences, yet in their hearts they know that the best friends of both Persia and Afghanistan are the English

people and the English Government. We are now in a somewhat anxious position so far as the outside world is concerned, and doubtless our difficulties and reverses — because we have had no defeats — our reverses in South Africa have had a disquieting effect, not only in but throughout the East. That time, we hope and trust, is past, and I have little doubt, as I have never doubted for a moment since war was declared, that the result of this campaign will be to leave us far stronger in every sense of the word than we were before; and that not only in Persia, but in the rest of the world, it will be acknowledged that the power that could at so short a notice place 200,000 men in the heart of South Africa, with its difficult communications and its long sea-voyage, could, if occasion required, make a far greater effort, and place a far larger number of men in any quarter of the world where its vital interests were assailed.

THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA—PAST AND PRESENT.

AN OBJECT OF AMBITION TO BRITISH YOUTH.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THE Indian Civil Service has long been the chief instrument created by Imperial Parliament for the work of governing India, where our Empire extends over 1,750,000 square miles, with a population which in 1891 came up to about 290 millions, without counting Baluchistan and the Somali Coast Protectorate in Africa. Included in these figures are 750,000 square miles, with nearly 70 million people, under native kings and chiefs, great and small, over whom the Viceroy's Government exercises various kinds and degrees of control, by means of officers stationed at their Courts. Wherever we travel over this vast area we encounter the Indian Civil Servant at his work—on the Afghan frontier of the Punjab, on the sweltering plains of Bengal, in the marshes and forests of Burma, and in our older possessions on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of Madras and Bombay. His ordinary duty consists in supervising the fiscal, judicial, and police work of hundreds of other officers, for the most part natives, in all the thirteen governments, large and small, into which we have divided our territories. He wanders about the villages, towns, and counties with his tents and camp for months in the year till the heavy rains or the fierce heat compel his return to the bungalow in the district headquarter city, where he meets and consults with his comrades and superiors for some months, till the approach of the cold weather calls them back to the wandering life. But as much of the work which in this country is done by statesmen falls in India on the more experienced and able Civil Servants, we find them at the seats of government in exalted and important positions, like Cabinet Ministers holding the civil portfolios, or as

Judges of the High Courts, or as Ambassadors to the great Native States. Bengal, with its 70 millions, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, with 47 millions, the Punjab, with 20 millions of people, are provinces each under the direct rule of a Lieutenant-Governor, chosen out of the Civil Service. To these I must add the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, while smaller areas, like Assam and Baluchistan, are under Governors modestly styled Chief Commissioners, or Agents, or Residents, one of these tracts, the Central Provinces, having a population equal to that of Holland and Belgium combined. Stately appointments like these are the prizes of the Service, falling usually to those survivors who combine bodily and mental energy. Distinguished men like Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Richard Temple are now and then made Governors of Madras or Bombay, alternating with peers and home politicians. I mention these facts not only as showing to ambitious young men that there are great rewards for the few at the close of their careers, but to indicate also that the Service affords many varieties of life for the many. For each of these potentates has secretaries and registrars to frame his orders, and these younger men emerge from the life of the camp and the small station to spend some years, at least, in the wider social and political life of centres like Calcutta and Simla, Rangoon, Nagpur, Bombay, and Madras, varied with tours with the Governor and changes to the delightful air of mountain resorts. To others the change comes in getting into the Foreign or Political Department when the work lies in Native States, amid more feudal institutions, more pomp and pageantry, and an older surrounding of law and custom. Moreover, there are great varieties of climate in an empire extending between the 8th and the 37th degrees of north latitude. There are seventy-eight divers languages, besides many dialects; the Hindu, Mohammedan, and Buddhist religions, all contrasted strongly with one another, have in different parts of India several forms and schools; and, if my space permitted, I could argue in many

other connections that when one thinks of India he should bear in mind that the term of geography is like the word Europe or South America: it encloses many countries and climates and peoples, and so the circumstances of the Indian Civil Servant in one part differ a good deal from those of his comrade in another. For example, in the Bombay Presidency, Sind, Gujerat, Deccan and Carnatic are regions each with its own language; and it often happens that an officer promoted, say, from Poona to Belgaum or Karachi has to set to work at once with a new grammar and dictionary. It happened to me in the course of six months to be employed at Simla, Bombay, and Rangoon; and I well remember the surprise and delight I felt when, after thirteen years of India, I was sent to Burma, where I found myself among very different nations, with many strange and picturesque surroundings quite new to me. The vastness of the spaces and populations makes it rather hard for me to know where to begin and how to develop what I would wish to say, especially when I add that while the present work of the Indian Civil Service is commensurate with the whole Indian Empire, including Burma and Aden, the Andamans, and the Persian Gulf, the history of this Service begins with our earliest trading to the Eastern world, three centuries ago, when, in the year 1600, the East India Company, the greatest and most powerful trading company ever formed, got its first charter from the Crown of England some years before the Scottish James ascended the English throne, in what Tennyson aptly calls "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The East India Company, which ceased to trade in 1834, continued, at the request of Ministers, to be the direct means of governing India till 1859. It was always essentially English in its character, with its seat in the City of London, where a number of merchants met the Lord Mayor in the Founders' Room, and, knowing the great risk of capital in foreign trade from the enmity of the Spaniards and the Dutch, petitioned for a guarantee of monopoly.

The charter made them freemen of what was a mere close City company, and assured to them and their sons on coming of age, their apprentices, servants and factors, the whole trade "in all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan." Those times were full of daring and enterprise; men's minds had been excited by the discovery of America and the route round the Cape, by the Protestant Reformation, the Spanish Armada, and the heroic struggle in Holland against Papal tyranny and bloodshed. The London merchants had tried to find a way to India and China along the shores of Lapland and Siberia; the Company called "the Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of lands not before known or frequented by the English" sent out Sir Hugh Willoughby for that purpose with three ships. At length they determined to compete with the Dutch round the Cape; and the immediate cause of the creation of the East India Company lay in the action of the Amsterdam merchants in raising the price of pepper from 3s. to 8s. a pound. So they commissioned captains of military knowledge and warlike temper to take out armed ships, laden with cloth and iron, to return with pepper and cloves from the ports of Sumatra, Java and Borneo. Each ship carried some merchants and factors; and when the captain found some Malay Prince in those distant islands who would lend them a house to live in and a warehouse to store goods, he left these mercantile servants behind him to establish a trade. The residence and warehouse were the factory; when strong walls were built round them, they became the fort; and from these beginnings arose the Presidency, because one of the merchants was made President, or Chairman, with powers of control. These merchants and factors in the Malay islands were the first Indian Civil Servants. In a short time we find more of them in Celebes and Japan; but the constant enmity of the Dutch at last induced the English Company to leave the Isles of Spice and settle firmly on the mainland of India.

This is too long a story to tell. But if anyone has a mind to hear adventures told by the men who travelled so far, he might do worse than go to the town library and get the first volume of "*Purchas his Pilgrims*," where he will find the log-books of the Company's earliest voyages. As time went on, the Company got power to make laws and to keep an army. Its officers had to treat with Native Princes, and were sometimes at their mercy. Conquests came as the result of wars; and after the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, had been won by Clive, himself originally a Civil Servant, his successor in the Government of Bengal plainly recognised that we had a duty to the people to supply good government, and that some of his merchants must be told off for that purpose. He called these men Supervisors; they were the earliest form of those conspicuous magistrates of districts whom we now call Collectors of Land Revenue or Deputy Commissioners. But still the work of government was treated as secondary to that of commerce and the securing of good dividends, until, as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close, Parliament interfered. Ever since that time the official element of duty began to supersede devotion to money-making. That deep-thinking Scotsman, Adam Smith, in his "*Wealth of Nations*," attacked the Company's mercantile system. At length, in 1814, it had to lose its monopoly of India and Indian trade; but it kept its hold on China and the tea trade till 1834.

Let me mention that when I joined the Service thirty-five years ago at Bombay I found myself described as writer in the civil lists, my comrades of four years' standing as factors, and those above eight as junior and senior merchants, though we were absolutely forbidden to handle trade. These terms survived in matters of precedence from the olden times when the factory was managed by the president, accountant, warehouse-keeper, and purser-marine, with merchants and factors to buy and sell, writers for correspondence, and blue-coat boy apprentices, as was the case at Surat in 1674. The old trading factory there

still exists, with a Parsee doctor dwelling in it, while with the change of things the castle of the Mogul ruler from whom our President had an Admiral's commission has become the collector's court-house. I may add that the present Service is called the Covenanted Civil Service, because the old cautious practice of the London merchants of exacting a bond for good behaviour is still continued, and we have all to find sureties in £1,000.

I have said already that the Company was peculiarly English. In fact, it was the greatest institution in the City of London, even older than the Bank of England, and ruling as time went on ever larger dominions in that zone

"Where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric gold and pearl."

It is probable that until the Union of 1707 few Scotsmen got any footing. We find nothing about them in the brilliant and vivid account given by Macaulay, in his eighteenth chapter, of that rich merchant-prince Sir Josiah Child, the ruler of the India House in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William and Mary. It is true that William Paterson, a Scotsman, founded the Bank of England in 1694, the same man who originated the ill-fated attempt to establish a second Caledonia with a new Edinburgh City in Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, a project sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament, backed by such men as Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, and supported by the nobility and clergy of Scotland. The exciting story of this failure is well told by Macaulay in Chapter XXIV. We all know how jealous and suspicious of each other the two nations used to be; and it is matter of history that the Articles of Union were burned in Dumfries at the Market Cross. But one result of these Articles was that England, with all its means of acquiring wealth and distinction, was opened to Scotsmen, whom the law no longer treated as foreigners. When the Earl of Bute became Prime Minister, he took good care to fill the public offices, the army and navy, with Scotsmen, which soon became the

steady subject of English satires and lampoons. As the Jacobin feeling died away, more and more men from Scotland marched along these avenues to wealth and power. There were plenty of lairds and merchants with big families to provide for ; and, as last century went on, India became a favourite field for their ambitions, as is well depicted in Mrs. Oliphant's novel of "*Kersteen*." Then, as these men rose high in the Service, or got into the direction of the East India Company, or into Parliament, they were able and willing to lend a helping hand to others, using their immense patronage of Indian appointments on the principle that a man may take a neighbour's part, though he has no cash to spare him. Several Scots names soon appear among the earlier Governors-General ; and in the Parliamentary debates of 1814, about establishing an English Bishop, Archdeacons, and episcopal clergy in India, the protesting group of Scottish members declared, uncontradicted, that the majority of Britons then residing in India were Scotsmen, and therefore they urged that the new State Church should be Presbyterian, not Anglican. My attention being drawn to these matters by a recent order of Lord Curzon, superseding one of Lord Elgin's about Government-churches, I was rather surprised to find that the present English establishment was planned by a chaplain, a Scotsman, originally Presbyterian, and carried out in Parliament and the Court of Directors by Mr. Charles Grant, of the Bengal Civil Service, an Inverness man, and his statesman son, Lord Glenelg.* Now, this long and steady influence of Scottish character on Indian affairs lasted over a time of many conquests, which implies much caution, wariness, patience, and knowledge of the people who have to be governed by new methods when the wars are over ; and without in the least undervaluing the excellent parts played by English, Irish, and Welsh, I would lay stress on the many brilliant Scottish names on the roll of history. For example, in 1819 a Governor was wanted for Bombay ;

* See article, October, 1899, p. 233.

but, instead of choosing, as is still usual, some homely peer or political partisan, Canning advised that, because of the extraordinary zeal and ability shown by the Company's officers, both civil and military, the place should go to them; and he named three of them, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the son of a Lanarkshire peer, Sir John Malcolm, so well known in his county of Dumfries, and Colonel Munro, whose father was a Glasgow merchant. The point is, all three were Scotsmen, and in time all three became Governors. The biographer of Elphinstone writes that each of them was a type of the civil and military services in India, their versatility, and the aptitude of their members for peace or war. In the older trading days the national qualities were much to the front; and everyone knows that to this day many of the great trading firms in India are Scottish, while that valuable order of men, the managers of banks, is pre-eminently such. In the transition period, in 1772, when Warren Hastings was in power in Calcutta, the Hon. Robert Lindsay, one of the many children of the Earl of Balcarres, may be taken as a type. After learning business in his uncle's (a wine-shipper's) counting-house at Cadiz, he got appointed by the East India Company as a writer. He retired in 1789 with an ample fortune, for he was allowed to trade and speculate on his own account; and he lived till 1836 near the castle of his fathers. To all Scotsmen he remains an interesting person as the brother of that lady who wrote "Auld Robin Gray." To the present Civil Servants he seems an object of envy, one of those who shook the pagoda tree. He managed to purchase an estate at home for £30,000, and then retire after only seventeen years of India, with a large income besides. In those trading times, however, a good many of the Company's servants lost all they had got through the risks of trade; and though no great fortunes can be acquired nowadays, the career is made more comfortable and certain. To come to the present day, the terms are that a man must remain in service for twenty-five years at least, of which

twenty-one must be active service in India, the other four may be on furlough. The furlough half-pay ranges from £500 to £1,000 a year. He is then entitled to a pension, after twenty-five years' service, of £1,000 a year from the revenues of India, but he has partly paid for this himself by contributing 4 per cent. on his salary all the time. Besides this he has to subscribe to provident funds, managed by Government, out of which his widow, his daughters until marriage, and his sons until majority, get certain pensions in the event of his dying, whether before or after retirement, leaving a family behind him. These arrangements began early in the century, and many, in Bombay at least, have to bless two Scotsmen in the Service of those times, Mr. Farish and the father of Sir William Wedderburn, while the Duke of Argyll had much to do with the matter of settling the pension of £1,000. Again, the officer is not obliged to retire after twenty-five years' service; he may, and often does, remain on for ten years longer, especially if he holds or hopes for some good appointment out of the ordinary. The wearisome climate makes holidays essential, so an officer can get one month holiday on full pay after working eleven months, two after twenty-two months, and three after thirty-three months; and thus he can amuse himself, touring into other parts of India, or take a quick run home to Britain to see his friends, or, as I sometimes did, repair to Italy as a half-way house, and let them come thither to see him. Men connected with India think highly of these pecuniary advantages, and make constant sacrifices to get their sons into this Service; the men who know it best think the most of it. The terms I have mentioned are good enough to attract first-rate classics from Oxford, and high wranglers from my own University of Cambridge;* and considering the ordinary rates of income at home, and the usual salaries and emoluments, I would suppose these terms will seem attractive to the aspiring youth. The

* One of them, Mr. Crump, a Senior Wrangler, has just died at Secunderabad, aged twenty-six.

great Universities of England, answering to a call made by the Marquis of Salisbury, have for many years watched these matters, as important to our Imperial prestige, our duty to India; and at those seats of learning we find men of the stamp of retired Indian Judges, who look after the candidates and supply young men thinking of the Indian career with useful and exact information. One of these superintendents of studies procured from a retired Indian Civil Servant some tables of figures, from which I am now going to quote, as they are not well known outside of those cloisters. The compiler had served in more provinces than one, and he has a son of good standing in the Service out there. He shows what the different figures are for the several provinces; and then, after making due deductions for the fall in the value of silver and rupees, he states the net result, the ordinary pay of the covenanted civilians actually at work in India, as follows:

	£	£
At 4 years' service, from 630 to 979 a year.		
" 8 " " " 900	" 1,267	"
" 12 " " " 1,349	" 1,749	"
" 20 " " " 1,962	" 2,475	"

I must here explain that, for promotion and other purposes, the Indian Civil Servants are assorted among seven different territorial lists, the cadres of Bombay, Bengal, Burma, and so forth, being as distinct as those of the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery, and the Rifle Brigade. So that while in one province the average salary at four years' service is £630, and in another is £979, the averages of the other cadres at the same stand-point range between the two amounts just given, the minimum and maximum. Every actuary knows also that arithmetical exactness is unknown in forecasting salaries in either regiments or services, as such things as invaliding, seconding, retirement, and death, vary with every year or cycle; and with varying factors the results cannot be constant. The statistics used are taken from the Civil Lists of April, 1897. They show the average rates of

income at that date in the several provinces at stated periods of an officer's service. But an actuary would not be content with examining one year only; he would compare the result with those to be got out of the Civil Lists of other years, where promotions might be quicker or slower in coming. A cautious candidate with a taste for mathematics can do that for himself. But the averages given above are got without bringing into the reckoning the secretariat men or those holding the lofty prize appointments in Government or judicature to which I have before referred. There are forty-eight of these, with salaries of £2,700 and upwards. The averages are made on the ordinary offices only, to which an ordinary civilian can, and does, attain.

It is not easy to determine how much of his income such an officer can save and invest against a rainy day. A bachelor can, of course, if so minded, put by more than a married man. The writer of statistics gives his opinion that if the officer marries moderately early he may devote about half his total income to Indian expenditure and half to home expenditure and savings. The man with a family has to open his purse-strings pretty wide when he has to send them home and stay out in India himself, the really trying part of this career, which in emoluments beats most other services. In the Home Service, *e.g.*, it takes eight to sixteen years to become a first-class clerk on £350 to £600 a year, and few can hope for a salary of £1,000 at twenty-five years, when the Indian civilian can retire as a free man on that pension. At middle age, too, he very often is a Collector, a sort of Prefect, ruling from half a million to two million people. Still, it appears that the men who pass highest at the joint examination prefer the Home Civil Service to that of India.

It is probable that many of the Home Civil Servants rejoice in private means, and while there are numbers who have reasons for preferring the quiet and comfort of home life, there are always sure to be in these islands of ours

plenty of robust, bright-minded scholars who thirst for adventure and travel, whose eyes seek always what is new and strange. This romantic, poetic tinge of feeling has soothed many a lonely hour in India, and Great Britain would not be what she is if we destroyed that hair-brained, sentimental trace of character which Burns discerned in his "Vision" of the Scottish Muse. For though you may not see the broom "wi' its tassels on the lea," and while in the life of tents no Sabbath bells awake the Sabbath morn, the civilian in his circuits through the counties under his control comes across fine and beautiful landscapes, ruined castles and old walled towns, temples superb with sculpture, and mosques whose domes and minarets rise among the palms. These scenes are the setting of that teeming native life, so varied and picturesque, in which the young officer is immersed as soon almost as he lands on Indian shores.

Speaking generally, after we had passed in the languages, we all had to begin as Assistant Collectors and Magistrates, with the charge of one, two or three counties, and the duty of going about, settling and collecting the revenue, trying criminal cases, looking after municipalities, excise, police and other local affairs. The officer travels on horseback and dwells in tents. One tent is used as a court-house, and in others the officer lives, while smaller ones are used by the servants and for cooking. The day's work usually closes about five or six o'clock, leaving time for a stroll into the village or the woods, or over the fields. Dinner, which has been cooked beneath the trees, soon comes on, and it was no great treat to have to eat it all alone, night after night, with a book perched under the lamp or candlestick, or perhaps the newspaper, which might arrive about that time. So the evening wears away; one may sit in musing mood at the tent door, or smoke a cigar, pacing to and fro on the greensward by the light of the moon, thinking of home and friends, till the hour of rest. In the meantime the servants have had their dinner near the camp-fire;

one tent has been struck, the folding chairs, table, bath and other furniture are packed up, to be put into the bullock-carts which are seen coming from the village. They are soon on the march to the next camping-place, twelve or twenty miles away. Early next day, when the officer is taking his tea and toast, he hears his horse whinnying outside, already saddled; he mounts and rides forth as the stars disappear, and the calm sleeping landscape awakes under the rising sun. He stops somewhere to see a well or tank that wants repair, or to view the scene of a murder, or to talk with the peasantry. Maybe his way lies through a village or two, where he takes the opportunity of looking at the rent registers and seeing that the farmers have been duly given receipts for money paid, a great check on fraud. When he reaches his camp, he finds his bath ready and his breakfast on the table, and before the meal is finished he hears and sees some signs of the day's work. Perhaps two policemen with guns and bayonets have a prisoner with them under a mango-tree in flower or fruit, or a committee of some village have come to complain that their land-tax is too heavy a rack-rent, or it may be the rival branches of a family are waiting with their lawyers to propose their own nominees for a vacant hereditary office. If one of our County Magistrates could sit behind the Civil Servant's chair for one day, he would be surprised at the multitude of inquiries made and orders passed. He would soon perceive that the great bulk of them some way or other affect the landed classes, who in many broad tracts of country are the small tenant farmers to whom the Government is landlord, lairds and squires and great nobles being very exceptional. When I hear farmers sighing for judicial rents in England or Scotland, or read their complaints in the Blue-books about the want of security for tenants' capital expended on improvements, about the unfair competition for the best-managed farms, the out-bidding of the old farmer by the reckless people, y-clept "scabs" in Scotland, or by the well-to-do men of

cities, I often wish I could take the farmer's opinion on the merits of the Bombay Land Settlement system with which the Indian Civil Servants have so much to do. In India it is easy for the law to be extremely just to the tenant farmer, because the Government itself is the great landlord; and although the land-rent or tax is the sheet-anchor of our revenue, and the State has a great interest in raising its amount, the Indian officials to a man know that five out of every six or seven of the population are connected with the land, that it is therefore dangerous to excite that class against us, and that if we can only keep the great rural communities comfortable and on our side, we need not be much afraid of any attempts of other classes against the British rule. A very long experience and watching of both the various rack-renting systems and of those which leave a fairly large profit in the cultivator's hands have convinced our Indian managers of land revenue that the Government gains immensely in its rent-roll by two things—carefully preventing the rent being fixed too high, and giving the tenant legal security for his own improvements, with a tenant-right by which the farm descends to his heirs and cannot be disturbed unless he ceases to pay the rent. Such a law was passed for Bombay in 1865 by that eminent ruler, Sir Bartle Frere, after an experience of the previous thirty years which had been devoted to classifying the soils, ascertaining market prices and farmers' expenses, surveying and mapping the lands, and fixing a judicial rent on each field. These great and interesting operations are worthy of some consideration in detail, and as I knew some of the founders, I would like to quote Sir Bartle Frere on the history and causes thereof, and show how it was that the small peasant farmers in South and West India got so long ago as good or better a tenure and protection against confiscation, against notice to quit, against competition by the out-bidding of outsiders, as the market-gardeners in the Vale of Evesham procured by an Act of Parliament in 1895. Sir Bartle Frere takes us back

to the years just before the Queen ascended the throne. About twenty years before then we had conquered the kingdom of Poona; the Native Court with all its expenses was a thing of the past; and the war-prices of corn and fodder had sunk to those of profound peace. So that where a sovereign had been a light rent in the older period, fifteen shillings was now far too heavy a demand; many farmers were squeezed so hard that the revenue collector would take and sell their ploughing cattle, their last support. Some zealous native subordinates even inflicted horrible tortures in order to get these flagrant rents paid. We found that our tenants, rather than stand this, were moving away to the neighbouring Native States. We had to deal with the demoralization which ensues when the landlord gives uncertain remissions instead of going to the root of the matter. Rarely more than two-thirds of the culturable land were under cultivation; often as much as two-thirds was waste. Whole villages were being deserted, left, as the Marathas say, without one lamp. This was the result of our attempting in a time when all prices had fallen to levy the same rents as were paid in the most prosperous day of the Maratha Empire. We were killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. These evils were at last brought to the notice of the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, who then set his officers to make inquiry in the villages and devise some better system. They were told that mere direct increase of revenue was a secondary matter, and that they must rather look to the indirect effects of fixity of tenure and moderation of rent. They began by surveying the fields and classifying the soils. To use the words of Mr. Inverarity, the Revenue Minister who introduced the Bill, their experience led them to the leading principle of fixing a rent so moderate and so simple as to be easily and readily paid by a poor and simple population. They fixed the leases for thirty years; they announced that when a new lease was given the rent should not be raised on the tenants' improvements, but only on such general changes as a rise in prices or new markets.

They decreed that the lease should go from father to son, and be both hereditary and saleable. What was the result? Between 1838 and 1862 the wastes were cultivated, the villagers grew happy and increased and multiplied, a political danger was averted, and with all this the land revenue was nearly doubled, while arrears, which are everywhere a source of irritation, were seldom heard of, and remissions, which gall the honest and honourable tenantry, became exceptional instead of being part of the routine. These are the reasons which induced Sir Bartle Frere, a Bombay Civil Servant, who had watched the whole long process, to stereotype by Act of his Parliament the benefits which these able rent - settlement officers, military men and civilians, had bestowed on one great area after another. Since then the land revenue has gone on increasing, and the tenant-right in many cases is worth twenty years' rent. The rural society becomes steadier and more law-abiding because of its great property stake; and one may say that agriculture, and with it loyalty to the Government, is based on a law as excellent in its pecuniary effects as it is suited to peasant peoples who are rooted in the soil, and whose village politics and customs are deep, hereditary concerns. The Hindu religion enjoins each man to beget a son, plant a tree, and dig a well. If he has a son, the farm is the boy's inheritance; if he plants a tree, the family get the fruit or timber; if he digs a well, which converts dry land into garden, as permanent and expensive an improvement of the soil as is the Galloway custom of removing and stacking the useless stones and rocks, the whole benefits go to the tenant-right farmer. It so happened that in my young days the first of the leases of thirty years came to an end, one of the counties under me (Indapur) being the site of the first experiment. The prosperity had been so great that the settlement officers advised an increase of 50 per cent. on the old rents. But it was a poor district with very little rainfall, and after this proposal was sanctioned, the want of rain caused a general ruin to the crops, and I was

besieged with petitions for remission. There was no time to delay, as the crops were withering, and to satisfy myself about them I gave up my mornings to riding through the parishes with a notebook and pencil, while sending my clerks on the same errand to other villages on my right and left flanks. As the rupee is made of sixteen annas, so we call an average crop a rupee crop, a half-crop an eight-anna crop, a quarter-crop a four-anna crop, just as if we said a shilling, a sixpenny and a threepenny crop. For such rough and rapid estimations my eyes were my only instruments. Arrived at camp, or in some temple or barn, I would compare notes with my clerks, and hear what the villagers had to say in the afternoon. They would tell me how deep in debt they were, and they brought the money-lenders to show me their accounts. In a week or two I made my report, advising the Governor, as a matter of grace and policy, not to press too hard. The new rent-roll would be more popular if we showed some leniency in this first year of dearth. After much thought I said, "Give them an out-and-out remission ; four annas of remission will please them more than letting half the rent stand in arrear." The Government, which had ample experience, took this view, and gave its sanction. I have mentioned the money-lenders, for they play a great part in Indian economics. In so poor a country the peasants cannot do without them. But they exact heavy interest, and sometimes overcharge, and at times the villagers rise against them and slay them. To secure the peace, and with the policy of keeping the farmers contented, several laws have been passed to prevent them being sold up, requiring the County Court to examine the whole dealings, and to give time to pay by instalments. The money-lender's capital is wanted on the land, but any wholesale eviction of the peasants, by execution for debt, would cause most bitter feeling and tend towards rebellions.

It is with subjects like these that the Indian revenue officer is occupied all his life ; and in dealing with them, speaking the language of the country, he learns many things

which are part of his stock-in-trade. As years go on, the Assistant becomes a Collector, ruling eight, ten, or twelve counties. After that he may rise to be a Commissioner over five or six Collectors, and then aspire to be a member of Government. Some, however, diverge into the judicial line, and as Assistant Judges and then Sessions Judges try civil cases, and hear appeals from the magistrates' sentences, and hold the assizes. Out of these judicial ranks some of the Judges of the High Court are selected. Others wish for service in the Native States, and the same man is sometimes at the Nizam's Court in the heart of India, while you next hear of him at Khatmandu in Nepal, on the Himalayan region, or at Bagdat or Bangalore. Occasionally a Civil Servant with a talent that way acts as inspector of schools or professor in a college; and those of a financial turn may get appointed to the Indian Exchequer or Post-office or Currency Departments. And let me add, many of us can say that one man in his turn plays many parts, which is a source of great pleasure to versatile minds; and the interest of life is increased when sudden calls arise to deal with local disturbances or desolating famines or epidemic cholera, or such a calamity as the plague. The mere mention of these things explains the high salaries which are meant to compensate for exile and danger and the diseases of the tropics. The vast variety of work and circumstance also partly explains how it is that officers of broadly-contrasted tempers are equally successful; why, for instance, one taken from the Army often matches the Civilian in purely civil duties. In the same way we account for the opinion of most men in high commands, that the perfervid, industrious, wary, cautious, persevering sort of man of the North has been, and always will be, wanted for India, equally with the lads whose peculiar virtues are those of the great public schools of the South. The mere capacity of patient listening is of untold value. The natives of India who come to the officials usually belong to one of two classes: they either come with a

grievance and complaint, or else they are persons accused of something or other. What they demand is what the law requires, *i.e.*, that they shall be heard ; and they are right in believing that a Judge is supplied with two ears, in order that both plaintiff and defendant may be listened to ; while his one tongue is reserved for a judgment to bind both, and end the strife. The facts are often complex, the incidents strange, the language foreign, the law new ; and these considerations have led British Statesmen to agree that the men we send to India should be men of proved intellectual abilities.

This decision supports the view of policy, that as the nation becomes more and more educated, as many doors should be kept open as possible for honourable careers ; and in my opinion it is most desirable that more of our educated youths should grow familiar with the attractions of Indian service, such as they are. There are reasons to believe that the raising of the age of admission to the open competition has had wide results, some of which were not foreseen. The examination is held in August, and the rule says that every candidate must on the previous New Year's Day have attained the age of twenty-one years, and not attained the age of twenty-three. The regulations are numerous, and they allow candidates to get marks in all kinds of knowledge. But while Cambridge does well, and Oxford better, the Scottish Universities have not lately been as successful as one would wish in finding men for the Civil Services. The success of Oxford in securing these prizes appears to hinge on the fact of the Civil Service curriculum, if I may use the word, fitting in well with the ordinary Oxford course, which includes political philosophy, ancient history, and kindred subjects.

The authorities of one University in Scotland, that of St. Andrews, have already detected these facts, and have started a movement to add these to the teaching in the classics. Without personal knowledge, I avoid dogmatizing, and will confine myself to what one learned pro-

fessor has lately reported. He says: "A candidate who has been through the Oxford school of *Literæ humaniores* is in a position to offer more subjects without going beyond his University course proper than any other candidate whatever. He is able to offer Latin and Greek, and thus to compete to the best advantage in the department of languages, especially as he generally has a fair knowledge of German, and often of French. He takes logic and moral philosophy, and is thus able to compete also in the department of philosophy, where he has the great advantage over the mere philosophy student that he has been specially trained in ancient philosophy, a recognised and important part of the examination. In the department of history he takes, as a matter of course, Greek and Roman constitutional history, each of which receives 400 marks, and the very important subject of political philosophy has formed a large part of his University studies. If he adds to this, as he often does, a competent knowledge of economics and economic history, it will be seen that he can profess a range of subjects which is quite beyond the reach of students from Universities where the lines of study are marked out on the principle of specialization. It is very hard, for instance, for a young Cambridge graduate to compete on anything like equal terms with such a man, even although his knowledge of the smaller number of subjects he is able to offer may be far more thorough and accurate."

I leave these matters of precision to the world of teachers, inside and outside of the Universities, as one of high importance to them, their scholars, and their sons. My present aim is rather to increase the public interest in India, and in general terms and common language to set forth what that career is which lies before clever and successful young scholars. I have not laid stress on the drawbacks, but rather dilated upon the high duties, the pecuniary comfort, and the variety of scenes in which the Indian civilian spends his active days. No man of any ability ever complained that this life of exile is a dull one. In

India there is always much to absorb the thought and delight the senses. Turn for a moment to those splendid sentences where Macaulay explains how Burke, whose eyes had never seen the Oriental world, did by force of his bright imagination "set things past in present view, bring distant prospects home." India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most people here, mere names and abstractions, but a real country with real peoples. "The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa-tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the Imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums and banners and gaudy idols, the devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden with the pitcher on her head descending the steps to the riverside, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the Prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects among which his own life had been passed. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas." These are the scenes mine eyes have seen, with which for thirty years and more I was familiar, and as I was fortunate enough to preserve fairly good health, and to keep on most pleasant and delightful terms with the native world, I may as well confess that I would like to live that life all over again.

THE RESTORATION OF A GOLD CURRENCY TO INDIA.

BY H. D. MACLEOD, M.A., BARRISTER AT LAW.

As the reasons which induced the Indian Government recently to pass a great and important Act to restore its ancient gold currency to India, and to make the sovereign the standard unit of the empire, in accordance with the unanimous demand of India in 1864, are very imperfectly understood and greatly misapprehended, both in England and India, I hope, by a simple historical narrative, to make the matter clear.

It is necessary, however, to begin by removing two very widely prevalent misconceptions as to the monetary system of India. 1. It is a very widely prevalent misconception that silver has been exclusively the money of India from time immemorial, and that it will be very difficult to reconcile the people of India to the change from silver to gold. 2. That India is too poor a country to have a gold currency. Both these allegations are utterly erroneous.

Gold was the original currency of India from time immemorial. India produces large quantities of gold, but no silver. Nevertheless, from prehistoric times vast quantities of silver have been imported into India to purchase gold. The ratio of gold to silver was 1 to 13 in Persia, but it was 1 to 8 in India.

The Phœnicians were the earliest seafaring traders in the world, and their commerce extended from Tartessus, or Tarsus, in the west, to Burmah and Siam in the east. They brought silver from Tartessus and exchanged it for the gold-dust of the lower Indus, which Sir Alexander Cunningham, the first authority on the subject, holds to be Ophir.

This gold-dust, however, was not coined in those early ages. It was in the form of dust, and it was kept in its natural state in small bags containing a fixed weight, and

passed as money. It is mentioned in Job, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Darius exacted as tribute from the satrapy of the Punjab 360 talents of gold-dust, which he coined into darics. The other nineteen satrapies of the empire paid their tribute in silver.

The silver imported into India by the Phœnicians was confined to northern India. Sir Alexander Cunningham conjectures that silver was coined as early as 1000 B.C., thus gold and silver equally passed current as money in northern India from prehistoric ages. But there was no fixed legal ratio between them. Silver, however, having been coined for ages before gold, came to be considered as the standard, and the bags of gold-dust were taken at their market value.

The trade of the Phœnicians was with northern India, and the Mohammedans never conquered southern India. Consequently there was no silver coinage in southern India. Gold coin continued to be the standard in southern India till 1818, when the East India Company for the first time forced their silver rupee on them as their standard unit against the wishes of the people. These historical facts are a conclusive reply to the allegation that silver has been the sole money of India from time immemorial, and that it is too poor a country to have a gold currency.

When the East India Company extended their dominion over India, they found the multiplicity of gold and silver coins in circulation an intolerable nuisance. There were 139 different kinds of gold mohurs, 61 different kinds of gold pagodas or huns, 25 different kinds of fanams, and 59 kinds of foreign gold coin in circulation; also 556 different kinds of silver rupees, and 155 different kinds of foreign silver coins. Altogether there were 994 different kinds of gold and silver coins in circulation, differing in weight and fineness. These vast numbers of coins were not attempted to be tied together by any fixed legal ratio; as, indeed, this would have been impossible, as they were issued by a multitude of independent princes, who claimed the right

of coining in the decadence of the Mogul Empire, and if they had been so, the greater number would have disappeared from circulation. These coins were continually varying in their market value, and consequently the difficulty of rating them in any system of accounts was enormous. In fact, no one knew the value of the coins he possessed. All payments had to be made by the intervention of saraufs, or professional money-changers, which, of course, opened the door to abundance of fraud.

The East India Company were so inconvenienced by the multiplicity of coins in circulation that in 1766 they endeavoured to establish bimetallism, *i.e.*, to issue gold and silver coins at a fixed legal ratio. But it entirely failed. They could not get their gold mohurs into circulation because they were rated much below the silver value of gold. In their perplexity they applied to Sir James Steuart, who was then the leading authority in economics. In answer to their request, he drew up a treatise for them, entitled "The Principles of Money Applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal," in which he demonstrated that it is not possible to maintain gold and silver coins in circulation together, when issued in unlimited quantities, at a fixed legal ratio different from the market ratio of the metals, but that the one which is underrated invariably disappears from circulation, and the one which is overrated alone remains current. This doctrine had been preached for more than four hundred years by all the greatest economists to the deaf ears of governments. But in 1805 the masterpiece on the subject, Lord Liverpool's "Letter to the King on the Coins of the Realm," was published, and immediately attracted the attention of the Court of Directors. Early in 1806 they addressed a minute to their Governments of Bengal and Madras, detailing the serious losses which had been incurred by the Indian presidencies from 1770 to 1802, from the circulation of so many gold and silver coins of different values in different districts. These losses had far exceeded their expectations. They

then expressed their entire concurrence in the doctrine which had first been suggested by Petty, and enforced by Locke, Harris, and Lord Liverpool, that the money or coin which was to be the principal measure of property ought to be of *one* metal only. They said that in India this metal should be silver. They said that coins of gold and silver cannot circulate as legal tenders of payment at fixed relative values as in England and India without great loss, occasioned by the fluctuating value of the metals of which the coins are formed. A proportion between the gold and silver coins is fixed by law, according to the value of the metals; and it may be on the justest principles, but owing to a change of circumstances, gold may become of greater value in relation to silver than at the time the proportion was fixed. It therefore becomes profitable to exchange silver for gold, so that the coin of that metal is withdrawn from circulation; and if silver should increase in its value in relation to gold, the same circumstances would tend to reduce the quantity of silver coin in circulation. As it is impossible to prevent the fluctuation in the value of the metals, so it is equally impracticable to prevent the consequences thereof on the coins made from these metals. They also said that there is a radical defect in the principle itself of giving a fixed value to metals in coin, that are in their nature subject to continual change.

This minute is of the utmost importance, because it is the first pronouncement by the Government of a great empire against bimetallism, after the bitter experience of its disastrous consequences for forty years. This minute was buried in the archives of the India Office, but in 1894 the India Office most courteously permitted me to make it public for the first time, and it gives a complete answer to the clamour for bimetallism with which we have been stunned for so many years.

The Government took no action on its weighty and important minute of 1806 till 1818, when it issued a new coinage of gold and silver. They changed the ratio of the

coins to bring them into conformity with the market ratio of the metals, and for the first time forced the silver rupee as legal tender on southern India, where gold alone had been the standard for thousands of years. They then declared these gold and silver coins to be equally legal tender to an unlimited amount. This action of the Government must strike us with amazement. In 1806 they had condemned bimetallism in the most scathing and unanswerable terms, and then in 1818 they attempted to establish it on a new basis!

In 1835 the Government at length gave up the attempt to maintain bimetallism as absolutely hopeless. They coined gold and silver rupees of equal weight and fineness. The silver rupees were declared to be the sole legal tender throughout India, but the gold rupees and other native gold coin were allowed to pass current, and be received at the public treasuries at their market value in silver. So matters remained till 1852. The great gold discoveries which began in 1848 and 1849 seemed likely to cause a great fall in the value of gold. Holland, in a moment of undue panic, hastily demonetized gold, which it repented of afterwards, retraced its step, and restored its gold coinage.

Lord Dalhousie took the same alarm, and in the last week of 1852 he suddenly issued a notification that after January 1, 1853, no gold coin of any sort would be received at the public treasuries. By this unfortunate action gold was totally demonetized throughout India. By this astounding *coup de finance*, utterly without precedent in the history of the world, it was estimated that £120,000,000 of gold coin at once disappeared from circulation, and was hoarded away. This was literally a "bolt from the blue" on the Indian community. Then for the first time India became a solely silver-using country, and not from time immemorial, as many ill-informed persons imagine. This was a lamentable instance of legislating in a panic. This was one of the most important of the series of causes which

led to the recent monetary troubles of India, and for forty years we repented at leisure.

The demonetization of gold by Lord Dalhousie was soon felt to be a most disastrous error, and a strong feeling grew up in favour of restoring a gold currency. Some minor movements were made, but in 1864 a powerful and unanimous agitation was made throughout all India for the restoration of the gold currency. At this time the British sovereign had acquired a very large circulation throughout the country.

The Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras and the Bombay Association took the lead, and were joined by many high officials and native bankers. They detailed the inconveniences of such a cumbrous currency as silver. From time immemorial, as I have already stated, until within the last few years, India had had an extensive gold currency, and the natives were very sensible of its superior advantages. The insufficiency of the existing currency had already caused severe financial embarrassments, and threatened the commerce of India with periodical and fatal vicissitudes. The exclusive silver standard and currency rendered direct trade with Australia and other gold-producing countries impossible, and forced a country with abundance of gold to traverse half the globe in search for silver before she could pay for her commodities. The superiority of gold would secure an immediate and intelligent welcome for it in India. The importation of gold into India had steadily increased for many years, though it was not legal tender. The natives themselves, *i.e.*, the native bankers, had devised a remedy for the deficiency of the existing silver currency by using gold bars stamped by the Bombay Banks as a circulating medium. The exclusion of gold from the currency of India could not be justified or be considered other than barbarous, irrational, and unnatural. The only remedy was to introduce a well-regulated gold currency into India.

Several officials, under the instructions of the Govern-

ment, held meetings of the bankers, merchants, and notables in important cities. They were unanimous in their approval of the scheme, and had no doubt of its success. They testified that sovereigns in great quantities were circulated in their districts, and were bought in large quantities by the natives. A large number of collectors in Southern India reported that large quantities of sovereigns circulated in their districts, and that the natives bitterly complained of the losses and inconveniences they suffered from their not being received at the public treasuries. The bankers were unanimously in favour of the sovereign being declared the standard unit, because it was the coin most familiar to them, being most abundant, and almost the only one used for equalizing the exchanges; and if a gold currency were established it would facilitate the introduction of a paper currency. This powerful and unanimous movement was the emphatic revolt of all India against the silver standard. The unanimous demand was, that the sovereign should be declared as the standard unit throughout India, because immense quantities of it were circulated throughout the country, and the natives were perfectly familiar with it. The whole of this movement is set forth in a Parliamentary paper entitled "East India Gold Currency," published in February, 1865, and no one has a right to form an opinion on the subject who has not carefully studied it.

In consequence of this movement the Indian Government addressed a memorial to the Home Government to authorize them to declare British and Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns to be legal tender throughout the British dominions in India at the fixed rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign! Such a proposal was foredoomed to failure because it was pure and unadulterated bimetallism, which the Indian Government had twice condemned and abandoned. It was a revival of the lowest and most barbarous economic ignorance of the fourteenth century.

Sir Charles Wood, Secretary for India, at once quashed this fatuous proposal, and read the Indian Government

a long lecture on bimetallism, showing them that it was impossible to maintain two metals in circulation together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio. He showed them that the coin which was undervalued was sure to disappear; and gave a strong instance of the recent case of France, where a simple change in the ratio of silver to gold from $15\frac{3}{4}$ to $15\frac{1}{2}$, while the legal ratio was $15\frac{1}{2}$, had sufficed to displace nearly £200,000,000 of silver coin, and replace it with an equivalent amount of gold. But he said that gold coin might be received as formerly at the public treasuries at a rate *to be fixed by the Government*; and he authorized the public treasuries to receive sovereigns at the fixed rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign. In this Sir Charles Wood was mistaken. Before 1853 sovereigns were *not* received at a rate *fixed by the Government*, but at their *market value in silver*.

At this time sovereigns were worth 10 rupees and several annas, and nobody paid sovereigns into the treasuries, where they were only to be received at 10 rupees, when their market value was several annas more, just as nobody would pay sovereigns into his account if his banker only credited him with nineteen shillings for them. Sir Charles Wood's plan totally failed. Both the proposals of the Indian and Home Governments failed because they were both tainted with bimetallism, which has ruined every system of coinage it has ever touched.

It is strange that Sir Charles Wood, with the example of the British coinage before him, did not perceive that he might have accepted the proposal of the Indian Government if he had exacted the condition that *the Indian mints should be closed to the free coinage of silver*. India would then have possessed a coinage similar to that of England, with the sovereign at 10 rupees. But the golden opportunity passed away, never to return!

With this miserable fiasco, showing gross ignorance of the rudiments of economics, began that long course of blundering which has cost India hundreds of millions of

money. Soon after this time began also that continuous fall in the value of silver which caused the greatest anxiety in the minds of European Governments. The Latin Union only came into operation in 1867, and already the clearest-minded economists saw that it must inevitably fail, and that there was no remedy but to adopt the single gold standard. In France, in 1869 and 1870, strong committees recommended the adoption of the single gold standard. In Prussia the Parliament appointed a committee in June, 1870, to devise a plan for adopting a single gold standard, but immediately after that the Franco-Prussian War broke out, which of course put then an end to such a project.

But immediately after the war was concluded Germany adopted the single gold standard. France followed suit in 1874, and one European State after another adopted the single gold standard, and closed their mints to the free coinage of silver, to save themselves from bankruptcy. But the Indian Government took no heed or warning from the example of Europe. Down, down, down went the rupee; drift, drift, drift went the Indian Government!

In 1875 Mr. Hollingbery, Assistant-Secretary to the Financial Department, addressed a masterly report to the Indian Government, urgently advising them to restore its ancient gold currency to India as the only possible means of averting ruin from India's finance. He warned them that the restoration of gold would be found to be inevitable in the end, and that the longer it was delayed the more difficult and costly it would be. When Mr. Hollingbery wrote silver was at 57½d., and the annual loss to India on meeting its home charge was £1,500,000; at the present day silver is at 27½d., and the annual loss by exchange is £8,000,000!

In 1876 the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal addressed the Government to close the mints to the free coinage of silver. But the Government replied that it would be impossible to close the mints to the free coinage of silver unless they were opened to the free coinage of gold as

unlimited legal tender. They continued to pester the Home Government with projects for bimetallism, which it constantly refused.

In 1886 difficulties continued to thicken around the Indian Treasury from the increasing fall in the value of silver. They then took up new ground with the Home Government. They demanded that a determined effort should be made to settle the silver question by international agreement. They repeatedly pressed this demand, persistently alleging that the ratio between gold and silver might be fixed by international agreement. The Treasury persistently denied this. Nevertheless, as is well known, several fatuous international conferences were held, which all ended in smoke, as they were bound to do. Every sound economist knows that it is just as impossible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver by international agreement as for any single State to do so. It would be just as rational to appoint an international conference to square the circle, or to discover perpetual motion. Both of these are known physical impossibilities. In economics it is equally a known impossibility to fix by law a ratio between commodities which are produced in unlimited quantities. If it were possible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver, it would be equally possible to fix the value of everything by law, as Oresme pointed out in the fourteenth century. It would be just as rational to suppose that, because no single State could abolish the law of gravitation, an international agreement might do so; or to suppose that because no single State could by law compel the sun to rise in the west, an international agreement might do so; or that an international agreement could compel the Ganges to flow back from the Sunderbunds to the Himalayas.

At length in 1893, when the value of silver continued to fall, and they saw that the United States would repeal the Bland and Sherman Acts, which was done, the Indian Government found itself on the verge of bankruptcy, and

saw that India would form the dumping-ground of all the depreciated silver in the world ; it then closed the mints to the free coinage of silver, and declared its intention to restore the ancient gold currency. But it ought to have been prepared with such a scheme simultaneously with closing the mints to the free coinage of silver, as the Government declared in 1876. Nevertheless, the procrastinating Government suffered five years to pass away before it took any steps to carry its fixed resolve into effect. At length in 1897 a committee was appointed to devise the means of restoring a gold currency to India.

As I had for years been urging the Government to restore its ancient gold currency to India as the only possible means of putting an end to its chronic monetary troubles, the Indian Currency Committee requested me to submit to them a scheme for effecting that purpose. This I did in my "Indian Currency,"* the evidence I gave before the Committee, and a paper I subsequently laid before the Committee.

There were four plans before the Committee : (1) to establish bimetallism ; (2) to reopen the mints to the free coinage of silver ; (3) to maintain the *status quo* ; (4) to restore its gold currency, to declare the sovereign the standard unit throughout India and unlimited legal tender, and to place the issue of silver entirely under the control of the Government.

In my evidence and the documents I have named I showed that the first three of the above proposals were entirely inadmissible, and that they would infallibly in a very short time bring about the bankruptcy of the Government ; I showed that the fourth plan only was the one which should be adopted, and carried into effect as speedily as could be done. I submitted to the Committee the following steps which should be taken to restore its ancient gold currency to India :

1. The gold sovereign should at once be declared

* Published by Longmans and Co.

unlimited legal tender throughout India, as was the universal demand in 1864, at the rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign.

2. In terms of the Coinage Act of 1870, chap. 10, the Indian mints should be declared to be branches of the Royal Mint in London, as the Australian mints are.

3. The Indian mints should at once be authorized to coin sovereigns and half-sovereigns of exactly the same weight and fineness as British sovereigns and half-sovereigns.

4. Indian sovereigns and half-sovereigns should have free circulation, and be unlimited legal tender throughout the Empire.

5. Every person bringing gold to the mints should be entitled to have it coined into sovereigns or half-sovereigns, as he may prefer, free of any cost or charge, at the mint price of £3 17s. 10½d. per ounce.

6. The Government should keep the coinage of silver entirely in its own hands, as in England. The Government can then extend or restrict the coinage of silver, as it may seem necessary and expedient for the wants of the people.

7. Silver rupees should, for the present, remain unlimited legal tender until the Government deems it expedient to restrict silver as legal tender.

8. So long as silver remains unlimited legal tender the Council Bills and other obligations of the Government should be payable in gold or silver at the legal fixed rating at the option of the Government.

9. So long as silver remains unlimited legal tender, all mercantile bills and all other obligations of every sort should be payable in gold or silver at the legal fixed rating at the option of the obligor.

10. In case the Government should deem it expedient to restrict the amount of silver as legal tender, all the obligations above mentioned of every sort and description, whether of the Government or of private parties, should be payable in silver only to the amount declared to be legal tender at the option of the obligor.

11. In all countries where gold and silver are made equally legal tender to a certain amount, the option of paying in either always rests with the debtor, and not with the creditor.

I then pointed out the sources from which the necessary gold could be obtained from internal supplies without requiring an ounce from any foreign markets, the details of which I need not give here.

One of the bogeys urged upon the Committee in opposition to the adoption of the gold standard was that the natives were so given to hoarding, that if gold coins were issued, they would immediately be all hoarded away and never get into circulation. In answer to this I pointed out to the Committee that, granting the propensity of the natives for hoarding which had always existed, there was before Lord Dalhousie's unfortunate notification in 1852 demonitizing gold an immense gold currency in India, estimated to amount to £120,000,000, and there was no reason why there should not be the same in future. It is a known fact that the French peasantry had the very same passion for hoarding as the natives. No one can have the remotest notion of the vast quantities of silver hoarded away by the French peasantry, and yet there are circulating in France about £200,000,000 of silver coin. The French peasants hoard away their coin in their own custody because they have not sufficient confidence in their banks. This is the very same reason which makes the natives hoard away their savings in their own custody; they have no confidence in the native bankers. But a certain amount of coin is necessary for the daily business of life, and that quantity will always be in circulation. The fear, then, that all the gold coin would at once disappear was purely imaginary.

This view has proved to be correct. We read in to-day's (March 6) *Financial News*: "An inspired Indian organ tells us that sovereigns are now passing freely from hand to hand in the bazaar, just as rupees do. They are not being hoarded, as far as Calcutta is concerned." We have the

express testimony of the witnesses in 1864 that sovereigns then circulated in immense quantities throughout the whole of India, and it is easy to see that after a certain time they will do so again.

A considerable amount of adverse evidence was given before the Committee to show that the restoration of its ancient gold currency was unadvisable and impracticable, but I am happy to say that the Committee rejected it all, and substantially adopted the scheme I had submitted to them in its entirety.

On September 15, 1899, the Indian Government passed an Act declaring that gold coins, whether coined at Her Majesty's Royal Mint in England, or at any mint established in pursuance of a proclamation of Her Majesty, as a branch of Her Majesty's Royal Mint, shall be a legal tender in payment or on account at the rate of fifteen rupees for one sovereign. Thus at length this great Act, realizing the unanimous demand of the people of India in 1864, was passed as the foundation of the complete reform of her monetary system, which will put an end to the monetary troubles which have so long afflicted her, and which could have been done by no other means.

I will now give an estimate of the losses sustained by India since the great fiasco of 1864, and the melancholy course of blundering by the Indian and home Governments since then. In 1864, if the demand of the people of India had been properly met, the sovereign might have been declared the standard unit at the rate of 10 rupees, provided that the mints had been closed to the free coinage of silver. Very soon after that silver began to fall, and the home charges of the Indian Government began to increase. In 1875 Mr. Hollingbery said the rupee was at 57½d., and that there was an annual loss by exchange of £1,500,000 in meeting the home charges.

Mr. Hollingbery showed that if the sovereign were adopted as the standard unit, instead of a loss there would be a gain by exchange, as the exchanges were always in

favour of India. At the present time the rupee is at 1s. 4d., and the home charges are about £19,000,000. With such charges to meet, it is acknowledged that every fall of 1d. in the rupee necessitates taxation to the amount of £1,000,000 on the people of India to meet the home charges. Consequently the fall of the rupee from 2s. to 1s. 4d. necessitates taxation to the amount of £8,000,000 for the sole purpose of meeting the home charges in London. Without going too minutely into the calculation, which it is impossible for any private person to do, it may be safely said that the losses by exchange of the Indian Government since 1864 have far exceeded £100,000,000.

Then two-fifths of the revenues of India are paid in rupees under contracts for terms of years. Hence the Government has lost $\frac{1}{5}$ of $\frac{2}{5}$ of its revenue, or more than 13 per cent. The Government alone can estimate the losses it has sustained on this head since 1864, but they must be enormous. To make up for these losses the Government has had to lay tax after tax upon the people, so that it is now recognised that India is taxed to the very limit of its endurance.

An Indian official, who holds the position of Legislative Councillor and Legal Remembrancer—*i.e.*, Attorney-General—to one of the Governments, informed me that by the fall of the rupee from 2s. to 1s. 4d. he has lost upwards of £900 of his income, and that if the rupee had been fixed at 1s. 3d., as many people demanded, he would have lost upwards of £100 more. And all Indian officials, from the Viceroy downwards, have suffered a proportionate loss of income. Indian officials and other residents who wish to send remittances home to their families even at the present rate lose more than 33 per cent. by exchange. But since 1893 the exchange has been down to 1s. 0½d. On one occasion, to my certain knowledge, an amount of rupees paid to purchase a draft which at 2s. for the rupee would have realized £100 in England only produced a little over £50.

It was a recognised fact that for many years, in conse-

quence of the fluctuations in exchange, not only was capital deterred from being invested in India, but was withdrawn in large amounts, because the profits of trade might all be lost by the fluctuations of exchange. What the indirect losses to India might have been I cannot even conjecture, but they must have been immense, probably not less than the direct losses.

The whole of this unhappy India business is an everlasting stigma on British economic and financial statesmanship of the nineteenth century. It is a striking example of Chancellor Oxenstiern's address to the son of Gustavus Adolphus : " Come, my son, and see with what little wisdom the world is governed." A want of knowledge of the simple rudiments of economics caused the loss of hundreds of millions to the Indian Government, and incalculable misery to private persons. Now, however, that India has at length established her system of coinage on the best European model, to be completed by the reorganization of her system of banking and paper currency, we may hope that she may start on a new career of wealth and prosperity.

A CHIEF COURT FOR LOWER BURMA.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.,

Late Judicial Commissioner of Burma.

"THE Government of India have decided, with the full concurrence of the Local Government and the approval of the Secretary of State, that in view of the growing importance of Rangoon as a centre of commerce, of the geographical separation of Burma from peninsular India, of the recent erection of the province into a Lieutenant-Governorship, and of the constitution of a provincial legislature, the time has come to provide Lower Burma with a Chief Court which shall be empowered to give final orders and to speak with the authority of an ultimate tribunal." These words of announcement, affecting some five millions of the Queen's subjects, were uttered on January 10 last in the Viceroy's Council by the official member then moving to bring in a Bill which in its enacted form will soon replace Act XI. of 1889, the law which at present makes, on the avowal of the Indian Government itself, very scanty arrangements for courts of justice in a wealthy and rising province. The honourable member told his audience that even as long ago as 1880 this judicial system was found to be wanting; while the experience of our great Indian ports, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, with which alone Rangoon may fitly be compared, had naturally suggested a remedy in the erection of a High Court years ago. A Bill for that purpose was at last introduced in 1887, but only to be abandoned on the ground that the plan was too costly for the exchequer and too advanced for the times. The patching-up policy which pervades the law of 1889 appears to have kept the province at bay for a whole decade; and the present proposal of a Chief Court, modelled on the tribunal which sits at the inland town of Lahore, is doubtless a compromise, a fairly big sop offered to the European

merchants of Rangoon, Moulmain, Akyab, and Bassein, who have always wished, as a protection to their vast ocean-going trade, for a court founded on the traditions of England rather than on those of the Punjaub. While Allahabad has long ago been supplied with a High Court, Burma gets none, neither is any reason vouchsafed for this unequal treatment nor time afforded for remonstrance. After twenty years of delay, the Bill is introduced in hot haste, so that it may become law in the present session. Like Macbeth in the play, the mover seems to feel that "if it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly." There is much in favour of this policy, as he justly brands the existing system of superior courts as "temporary, defective, complex, unsatisfactory, complicated," using Latin words to avoid over-statement. The plainer Anglo-Saxon of the Commination Service would better suit the feeling at Rangoon and other marts of trade.

The main point of the Bill is that it erects one single supreme court instead of several, and thus enables the whole judicial work of Lower Burma to be done in the province itself. The Chief Court is to have four or more judges, of whom two at least shall ordinarily be barristers. They will hold office during pleasure, not during good behaviour as in England. Saving the Privy Council, all appeals and revisions end with them, and the whole system of sending the most important matters to the High Court of Calcutta, involving the expense of a second set of solicitors and barristers, will come to an end. While I am writing, the duties of a High Court are shared among the Calcutta tribunal and three superior courts at Rangoon, who are at times aided by judges from two lower courts. The Recorder of Rangoon, a barrister-judge, is a High Court for European British subjects; but his sentences of death must go to be confirmed or reversed at Calcutta. So do appeals from him as an Admiralty Court, from other civil decrees under Rs. 10,000, and from various other orders. The Judicial Commissioner, a civil service judge,

is the High Court for the whole country outside of Rangoon. But when either judge sits as a Court of Session, the prisoner appeals to the same judge, sitting with the other one, in what is called the Special Court, a tribunal which for some purposes is a High Court, and which sometimes comes to a deadlock when the one judge sticks to his first views and his colleague differs. In other matters they may send their opposite opinions to Calcutta, where the judges have to decide between them, even if there is no argument of counsel. To avoid this, another procedure, started in 1889, lets the ruler of the province order the Additional Recorder, if there happens to be one, or if not, the Judge of Moulmain, to sit as a third, so that an inferior judge decides between the two High Courts. The new law will abolish all these impediments to justice. The Chief Court will still be only a court of session for criminals in the town of Rangoon. But as in Calcutta or Bombay, finality is to be given to the judge's sentence. The unwholesome necessity of one high judge pitting his opinion against the other will disappear. The Recorder, the Judicial Commissioner, the Additional Recorder, the Special Court, and the Judge of the Town of Moulmain will vanish from the scene, along with the Calcutta jurisdictions over Lower Burma. The Governor-General in Council takes power to appoint one of the Bench as Chief Judge. Probably the commercial world of Burma would like to restrict his choice to the barrister-judges; but on principle the best man should be chosen, and some weight given to long experience of the duties.

This Bill contains a chapter dealing with the lower hierarchy of courts in the revenue areas of the interior. Of these there will be four—the Divisional, District, Sub-divisional, and Township Courts, under the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Assistant, and Myo-ok respectively, very much as at present. It would seem that the Commissioner will still be Sessions Judge and his deputies District Magistrates with Assistant Judges' powers. It

is intended to give Additional Judges to the Courts of the Commissioners, to relieve these high officials of civil appeals and get rid of intermediate appeals to the hard-worked Deputies, a policy which has been successful elsewhere. The question under what circumstances appeals should lie has been referred to the Secretary of State. In most respects the Mofussil will remain under practically the same system of rule as was devised in Arakan after the first war and in Pegu after the second, and which still continues. The Bill contains many useful powers to reduce delays and expenses in its working, and of course provisions for pending cases. Outside the seaports the litigation is simple, and the rural and commercial communities are strongly contrasted.

It remains to show briefly the slow advances which Burma has made in judicial institutions within living memory. In 1862 Arakan was under Bengal, and Pegu and Tenasserim were under commissioners quite independent of each other but under the Governor-General. Acting on a report written by Colonel Bruce and Sir Richard Temple, the Government joined the three provinces together under a Chief Commissioner as governor, and disallowed their proposal to have a Barrister Judicial Commissioner over the interior, to sit also as an Original Side Judge at the seaports. The Chief Commissioner was erected into a final court by Act I. of 1863, and continued such till abolished by Act VII. of 1872, which substituted a Judicial Commissioner. The British merchants, who even in 1840 had wanted a Recorder like the one at Penang versed in the *lex mercatoria*, had to put up with an ordinary officer of the Commission, until on the report of 1862, recorders were provided for Rangoon and Moulmain by Act XXI. of 1863. The same Act brought into these ports the qualified law of England of the year 1726, making them in that respect like the presidency towns, and with this rule of law the present Bill is to make no change, at least in Rangoon. By Act VII. of 1872 the

Special Court was set up, Sir Barrow Ellis remarking that financial difficulties precluded a more perfect tribunal. In the debates we find a fear expressed that if a barrister and a civilian were yoked together as judges they might upset the coach. But this calamity has been avoided, and the present system has lingered till the end of this century. These are results which may fairly be put down to the credit of the judges, who worked for justice, in spite of a bad law, re-enacted time after time, creating and continuing perplexing conditions of judicature, with delays and costs.

The most important sections of the Bill are those inserted below.

CONSTITUTION OF CHIEF COURT.

5. The Chief Court shall consist of four or more judges, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council and shall hold office during his pleasure, and of whom two at least shall ordinarily be barristers of not less than five years' standing.

APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF JUDGE.

6. The Governor-General in Council may, in his discretion, from time to time appoint one of the Judges of the Chief Court to be the Chief Judge, and may, during any vacancy of the office of Chief Judge, and during any absence of the Chief Judge, appoint one of the other Judges of the Chief Court to perform the duties of the Chief Judge until a new Chief Judge has been appointed and has entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office, or until the Chief Judge has returned from such absence, as the case may be.

RANK AND PRECEDENCE OF CHIEF JUDGE AND JUDGES OF CHIEF COURT.

7. (1) The Chief Judge (if any), whether permanent or officiating, shall have rank and precedence before the other Judges of the Chief Court.

(2) Save as aforesaid, the Judges shall have rank and precedence according to the seniority of their appointments as such Judges :

Provided that a Judge permanently appointed shall be deemed to be senior to, and shall have rank and precedence before, an officiating Judge.

(3) In the construction of this Act the expression "the Senior Judge" shall mean the Judge for the time being entitled to the first place in rank and precedence.

CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JURISDICTION OF CHIEF COURT.

8. The Chief Court shall be the highest Civil Court of appeal, and the highest Court of criminal appeal and revision in and for Lower Burma, and shall—

- (a) be the High Court for the whole of Burma (inclusive of the Shan States) in reference to proceedings against European British subjects and persons jointly charged with European British subjects ;
- (b) have power, as a Court of original jurisdiction, to try European British subjects and persons charged jointly with European British subjects, committed to it for trial by any Magistrate and Justice of the Peace exercising jurisdiction in any part of Burma (inclusive of the Shan States) ;
- (c) be the principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction and the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town ; and
- (d) have within the Rangoon Town such powers and authorities with respect to insolvent debtors and their creditors as are for the time being exercisable by a Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors under the Indian Insolvency Act, 1848.

EXERCISE OF JURISDICTION BY JUDGES OF CHIEF COURT.

9. (1) Except as otherwise provided by this Act or by any other enactment for the time being in force, and subject to any rules made under this Act, the jurisdiction of the Chief Court may be exercised by a single Judge of the Court.

(2) The Chief Court may, with the sanction of the Local Government, make rules to provide, in such manner as it may think fit, for the exercise of any of its powers by a bench of two or more Judges of the Court.

CONSTITUTION OF FULL BENCH AND OTHER BENCHES.

10. (1) The Chief Court may make rules declaring what number of Judges, not being less than three, shall constitute a full bench of the Chief Court, and may by such rules prescribe the mode of determining which Judges shall sit as a full bench when a full-bench sitting becomes necessary.

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1), the Senior Judge of the Chief Court may determine which Judge in each case or classes of cases shall sit alone, and which Judges shall constitute any bench.

POWER TO REFER QUESTION TO FULL BENCH.

11. Any single Judge of the Chief Court and any bench of Judges thereof, not being a full bench, may in any case refer for the decision of a bench of two Judges or of a full bench any question of law or custom having the force of law, or of the construction of any document, or of the admissibility of any evidence, arising before the Judge or bench, and shall dispose of the case in accordance with the decision of the bench to which the question has been referred.

REVIEW IN CERTAIN CRIMINAL CASES.

12. Where in any case any such question as is referred to in Section 11 has been decided by a Judge of the Chief Court exercising the original criminal jurisdiction of the Chief Court as a Court having power to try

European British subjects committed to it for trial, or the jurisdiction of the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town, and no reference has been made under the provisions of that section or of section 434 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Chief Court may, on its being certified by the Government Advocate that in his opinion the decision is erroneous or should be further considered, review the case or such part of it as may be necessary, and finally determine the question, and may thereupon alter the judgment, order or sentence passed by the judge, and pass such judgment, order or sentence as it thinks right.

FINALITY OF ORDERS OF CHIEF COURT AS RANGOON COURT OF
SESSION.

13. Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, a judgment, order or sentence passed by a Judge of the Chief Court in exercise of the jurisdiction of the Chief Court as the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town shall not be subject to appeal to, or confirmation by the Chief Court, or, save as provided by section 12, to revision thereby.

APPEAL FROM SINGLE JUDGE OF CHIEF COURT EXERCISING ORIGINAL
CIVIL JURISDICTION.

14. Except as otherwise provided by any enactment for the time being in force, an appeal from any decree or order made by a single Judge of the Chief Court—

(a) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction as the principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction for the Rangoon Town, or

(b) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction with respect to insolvent debtors and their creditors, or

(c) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction in cases withdrawn from other Courts under section 25 of the Code of Civil Procedure, or

(d) in the exercise of any other original jurisdiction of a civil nature to which the Chief Court may by rule extend this section,

shall lie to a bench of the Chief Court consisting of two other Judges of the Chief Court.

SUPERINTENDENCE AND CONTROL OF SUBORDINATE COURTS.

18. The general superintendence and control over all other Civil Courts in Lower Burma shall be vested in, and all such Courts shall be subordinate to, the Chief Court.

GRADES OF CIVIL COURTS.

21. (1) Besides the Chief Court, the Courts of small causes established under the Provincial Small Cause Courts Act, 1887, and the Courts established under any other enactment for the time being in force, there shall be four grades of Civil Courts in Lower Burma, namely :—

(a) the Divisional Court ;

(b) the District Court ;

(c) the Subdivisional Court ; and

(d) the Township Court.

(2) Every Court mentioned in the list in subsection (1) shall be of a lower grade than the Court mentioned immediately above it, and shall be subordinate to all Courts above it in the said list.

SUPERINTENDENCE AND CONTROL.

22. Subject to the general superintendence and control of the Chief Court, the Divisional Court shall superintend and control all other Courts in the local area within its jurisdiction; and, subject as aforesaid and to the control of the Divisional Court, the District Court shall superintend and control all other Civil Courts in the local area within its jurisdiction.

RUSSIA'S SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, OR A THOUSAND YEARS OF MANCHURIA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

Now that the Russians have practically taken the three provinces of Manchuria under their political control, it is of interest to consider the ethnology of the country from a historical point of view. From the time of Confucius up to the present day practically one race alone has inhabited the district enclosed by the Ussuri and Sungari Rivers to the north, and the Ever-White Mountains of Corea and watershed of the Liao River to the south. This race is that described by Marco Polo as the *Ciorçia*, by Persian authors as the *Churché*, and by the Chinese and Cathayans as *Sushen*, *Lüchen*, *Juchen*, *Chulichen*, *Chushen*, *Nüchen*, and *Juchih*; until, in our own day, we find the Manchus, on the authority of their best Emperor, K'ien-lung, deriving their own name *Manchu* from the name of the district *Chushen*, where they first began to feel their own power. The Russian author Hyacinth thinks them to have been originally of one race with the Coreans, who certainly can be traced up as far north as the modern K'ai-yüan, the old Fu-yü, whence the ancestors of at least some of the Coreans gradually migrated south; but, if ever there was a close ethnological connection, all trace of it had disappeared before historical times, and the Manchu races never got far into that part of South Manchuria (or Shingking), west of the river Liao, until 900 years ago.

Of the early history of these tribes, whose home practically corresponded with the modern province of Kirin, it is not proposed to treat here; nor is it intended to deal more than casually with the present ruling race in possession of China. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this paper to state that, from B.C. 500 to A.D. 1000, enough is known from original Chinese history, and has been translated and published, to make it quite certain that this one race, gradually

advancing from utter barbarism to civilization, has an unbroken and continuous history, and has remained in one definite main place ; whilst, of course, from the Manchu conquest, 250 years ago, down to A.D. 1900, there is no question of Manchu identity. But no clear and consecutive account has ever, to my knowledge, yet appeared of the important developments which took place between A.D. 1100 and 1650, and which had for ultimate results at about those respective dates the setting upon the Chinese throne of two powerful military dynasties as closely allied in origin at least as are the Low Germans and the Dutch ; and it is to attempt such an account, making use of as few strange names as possible, that I now take up the pen.

From A.D. 900 to 1100 China, north of the Tientsin River valley, was politically in the powerful hands of a Tungusic race known to the Chinese as Kitan, and in nomadic habit much more Mongol than Manchu ; hence, as the true Chinese never regained political possession of this North China region until 1368, we find the Kataia of Marco Polo spoken of by him as though it were inhabited by a race different from the closely kindred people of South China. In the same way we find the Russians, who as imperial body-guards were numerous in North China during the thirteenth century, only knew of the Chinese Empire as Kitai, which to this day is still their sole name for it, and was derived from the Mongol word *Kitat*, still the Russian for "Chinaman." Well, these Kitan or Cathayans had a considerable influence over the vast area occupied by the various Turko-Tibetan tribes to the north and west, as far as the 50th parallel and the 100th meridian, and also upon the purely Chinese Empire to their south, neither of which regions, however, concerns our present purpose. Corea also recognised their suzerainty ; and even Persia, Khoten, and the Caliphs of Baghdad sent one or two missions apiece. The centre of Cathayan power is easily understood by taking a glance at any good map. It was simply the Upper Liao River, or Shira Muren

Valley, westwards from K'ai-yüan, including the valleys of all such tributaries as the Loha, Inkini, Kara Muren, etc., and as much south of the main stream as extends to the Great Wall. Later, it embraced the Peking plain south of the Wall, with as much land north of it as reaches to the rivers Kalka, Lower Nun, and Toro, and even to Hurun Pir. All their belongings west and south of this limited area were either semi-independent vassal states, or temporary encroachments upon Turkish, Tibetan, or Chinese earlier rights. One of the least vassal of these tribes is in Cathayan history actually styled *Mung-ku* or *Mongol*, and even some centuries before that the Mung-u of the Kerulon are spoken of in the T'ang History. The Cathayans had to their north and east the various Churché or Manchu tribes as above described, lying between themselves and Corea; and also some unidentified tribes akin to themselves, but not in close political union. The southern or more civilized half of the Blackwaters, Churchés, or Manchus, had for two centuries past (700 to 900)—taking advantage of Korean disintegration—governed a very extensive semi-independent kingdom, called Bohai, meaning "Sea of Liao-tung," and roughly corresponding to the southern half of Kirin (Central Manchuria) as far west as K'ai-yüan and the Sungari, and the northern half of Shingking (Southern Manchuria) as far west as K'ai-yüan and the Liao River; thence eastwards to the Pacific; but the Cathayans, after becoming a great power, soon conquered this kingdom, and reduced it to the status of a subordinate viceroyalty. However, the inhabitants, having been ruled for two centuries by a dynasty of Korean-Chinese adventurers, had already become almost like Chinese. It is here that our present history begins. The northern and illiterate branch of the Manchus occupied the valleys of the Hurka, Altchuk, Larin, and Sungari, all which rivers were then known by almost exactly the same names as now. In fact, the Hurka is mentioned in Bohai history too, and gave its name to their later "upper capital," the modern Ninguta,

the earlier one having been much farther to the south-west. The central part of the Sungari, from Kirin to Petuna, was christened by the Cathayans *Hun-t'ung*, which is stated to mean "Blackwater" in their language, and by this name it is still known: from Petuna, where it turns north-west, it was sometimes called *Hun-t'ung* and sometimes "Black Dragon." There are other *Kara-muren* and *Kara-su* or "Blackwaters" in Mongolia, and the Amur is always called *Hehlung*, or "Black Dragon." Hence the middle part of the Sungari is often confused with its upper and lower stretches. In any case, the northern Manchus had for many centuries been known as "Blackwaters" before their alternative name of Nüchen or Juchen—first mentioned in the seventh century—came into general use in the tenth. The Cathayans divided the northern Manchus—that is, the Juchen or Blackwaters, as distinguished from the Bohai—into the "ripe" and the "raw," accordingly as they were registered and enrolled Cathayan subjects, or entirely under their own chiefs; and during the eleventh century they directed that the term Juchih should replace that of Juchen, as the syllable *chen* had become an imperial *tabu*. Hence I am disposed to conjecture that the final *n* in "Kitan" and "Nüchên" must be simply a sign of the plural; or possibly it may be the final *t* that marks the plural.

Amongst the Manchu tribes on the Korean frontier was one called Wanyen, which word was said to have the same meaning as the Chinese word *wang*, a "king," or "royal," and may possibly be a corruption of it. (In modern Korean the nominative case of the same Chinese word becomes *wangi*.) At that time the old Korean state of Kokorai, broken up by Chinese invasions, had given place to one called Shinra, separated by the Ever-White Mountains from Bohai; and the new state of Korai had not yet been founded. Hence, when we are told that "a Shinra man named Hanpu, or Khanfu, came from Corea and was allowed to take up his residence with the Wanyen tribe, although his elder brother Akunai preferred to remain in Corea," we shall be prob-

ably correct in assuming that one of the Manchus settled in that border region which once had been and which soon was again to be called Corea, had decided to rejoin a border Manchu tribe now more or less independent of both Corea (Shinra) and Bohai (conquered by the Cathayans). After a period of test residence, during which Hanpu, a man of noble figure, did good service in assuaging tribal quarrels, the Wanyen tribe gave him a wife, and permanent social admittance into the clan. Amongst other things, Hanpu introduced a system of *weregild*, paid in slaves and cattle, in place of continual brawls and feuds. The wife in question was a fairly old woman, and apparently only grudgingly given; but none the less she bore him two sons and a daughter. The grandson of Olu the eldest son migrated further north, and took up his residence on the Anch'uhu River, where for the first time he introduced ideas of settled homes into the minds of the rude tribe. This river is easily proved to be the Altchuk of to-day, and the tribal name appears as far back as the fifth century in the form Anch'eku, and again in the eighth century as Anküku. It means "golden," and in its Chinese form *Kin-yüan* ("gold-source," or "source of the Altchuk") gives official name to the Kin dynasty of Nüchens or Early Manchus, who drove out the Cathayans, and were in turn driven out over a century later by Genghiz and Ogdai Khans, of the Mongol horde. No dates are given for the four reigns from Hanpu to his great grandson, but it is easy to see that they must cover the tenth century.

The next, or fifth chief, received from the Cathayans the gubernatorial title of *tiyin* or *telian*; but it is distinctly stated that the Juchen or Nüchens had then no calendar or exact dates, no letters of any kind, and no organized official hierarchy. The sixth chief, Ukunai, or Hulai, was born in 1021—our first definite date—and performed valuable services for his masters the Cathayans by keeping in order the recalcitrant tribes near and beyond the modern Sansing, then called "Five State Town": the names of these five

Lower Amur states are known, but shed no light. For this he was rewarded with the Chinese title (the Cathayans having already adopted many Chinese ways) of "Commander-in-chief over the Rāw Nüchens"; but his policy always was to avoid "registration;" to keep the Cathayans at arm's length by preventing them from exercising any direct influence to his north-east; and to force them to act in their relations with the "Five States" through his mediative agency. He died in 1074. His son Heli (or Helipo) during a nineteen years' reign carried strictly out a similar jealous policy, but at the same time on various occasions rendered valuable aid to the Cathayans, whose principal interest in the Lower Amur and coast region was to secure from the more uncivilized Tungusic tribes a steady supply of hawks and falcons for purposes of sport. Notwithstanding this loyal and politic external behaviour, the Nüchens secretly longed to shake themselves free of the Cathayan yoke, and accordingly on his death-bed Heli solemnly said: "My second son Akuta is the only man capable of settling once for all this Cathayan question." Akuta (or Akutañ) was then (1091) twenty-three years of age, and two brothers besides their nephew the eldest son of Heli had, in pursuance of previous arrangements, to reign before he got his chance. Meanwhile there were the usual difficulties with greedy and overbearing Cathayan taxmasters, or special hawk commissioners; but all throughout this critical period the diplomatic Nüchen rulers succeeded in "fooling" their masters by pleading that "we only can keep the further tribes in order if you leave us a free hand; any direct interference of yours may lead to a rising and a massacre." The modern Manchus have inherited this capacity to play a waiting game. Now for the first time communications were opened with the new State of Korai, founded in 908, which must therefore be the approximate date of Hanpu's arrival from Shinra, which name totally disappears by 928. Heli's eldest son Uyashu was the first to establish discipline in the Nüchen armies, which now

were the proud possessors of a thousand cuirasses, given to them, as a reward for services, by the Cathayans. The refusal of the Cathayans to surrender a Nüchen deserter named Asu had already caused the nascent germs of ill-feeling to grow apace, so that when Akuta or Ogudā succeeded his cousin in 1113, everything was ripe for a revolt, which at last broke out in active form at a fishing *durbar* held by the Cathayan Emperor on the Sungari.

All Nüchen officials were styled *pekire*, or *pögile*, with various other prefixes to denote rank. Thus, the *kulun pekire* is easily identified with the modern Manchu *kurun peile*, or "royal duke," it having evidently been the practice in Nüchen-Manchu, as in the Mongol word "Mongol" or "Moal," to slur over the medial guttural. (The Mongol historian who compiled Nüchen history is styled both Tucta and Tuta, or Toto.) Accordingly, when Akuta succeeded to the throne, his native title was *tu*, or "chief," *pekire*. His first step was to gain over to his cause the "registered" Nüchens living along the right bank of that part of the Sungari (near modern Kirin City) which was under direct Cathayan control. The next thing was to persuade the partly Chinesified natives of the Bohai viceroyalty, which, as above explained, had once been almost a genuine Manchu kingdom, that they originally belonged to the same race as himself, and then to assemble his combined forces upon the River Larin, where he gained his first victory. He now crossed the Sungari. A great battle was fought on another and southern or left bank tributary of the Sungari (not identified) called the Ya-tsz, or "Duck," River, when over 100,000 Cathayans were routed. The modern Mukden, Liao-yang, etc., fell one after the other. At the advice of his cousin Sakai, and of his own brother Ukimai, Akuta now assumed the imperial title, and consequently his official reign begins in 1117, though some authorities advance it to 1115. He had marched (they say) against the Cathayan imperial city of Hwang-lung Fu, the site of which (having in 1020 been moved north-east from its

original site, modern K'ai-yüan) appears to have been nearly identical with the place marked on the maps as Ch'ang-ch'un (Kwan-ch'êng-tsz). One of his grievances was that this city "ought to be moved back" to its former site. The Cathayans were defeated in a second great battle fought at a place a little north-east of the present Kirin, and as one of the results a considerable number of agricultural implements fell into Nüchen hands. Ukimai was now made *amban pekire*, or "vizier," to his brother, whilst Sakai received the next highest title of *kurun pekire*. In 1116 Akuta proceeded to the conquest of Liao Tung, or the country "east of the river Liao," in consequence of which Corea grew clamorous for and was accorded certain compensations. The two versions are manifestly the same, except as to the official reign date. In 1119 he concluded an alliance with the Sung dynasty—that is, the purely Chinese dynasty governing that part of China south of the Yellow River—and before three years were out he had at least three of the five Cathayan capitals in his possession, whilst the Cathayan Emperor was in full flight from (modern) Peking. The three capitals in question correspond to the two Chagan Suburgan (lat. 43° and 44° N., long. 118° and 122° W.) and modern Liao-yang. The other two capitals, corresponding to modern Peking and Ta-t'ung Fu, were occupied in 1122. The renegade Asu was also captured. The remains of the Cathayan fighting clans valorously worked their way west as far as Kermané on the Zarafshan River, near Bokhara, and after curious vicissitudes, returning a little towards the east, founded an empire near the old Western Turk encampment of the Issik-kul region, which existed up to the time of Genghis Khan. Hence there is one more good reason why the name of Cathay should have taken so firm a hold upon the Mongol-Russian imagination, as it must have represented to their minds the ruling Chinese race all the way from Persia to Corea, just as in Europe we vaguely regard as "Turks" the Slavs and Greeks of Turkey. The Sung

Empire also demanded compensation for the Nüchen conquests in the shape of the Peking and Ta-t'ung Fu regions; they received the Peking plain, but in a year or two lost it again.

Akuta died in 1123, at the age of fifty-six, and was succeeded by his younger brother Ukimai. This Emperor reduced to subjection the Tungusic coast tribes in the modern Southern Ussuri province of Russia; moved large numbers of people from the modern Shan-hai Kwan coast region to populate the modern Mukden; built a new "upper capital" either at or near the old one on the Altchuk, and instituted an efficient courier service between it and the south. I am inclined to think that at this date the upper capital was moved from the head-waters of the Altchuk to a point on the same river corresponding with the present city of A-jê Ho or Altchuk, which is a Manchu military command at this moment. At first a certain amount of compensation was (as stated above) given to the Sung Empire in return for their alliance; but soon the allies got to squabbling over their prey; war was declared, the Yellow River crossed, the capital (modern K'ai-fung Fu) occupied, and the Chinese Emperor taken prisoner and transported, with several sons and many women, to the Hurka. Ukimai's first idea was to create a buffer State, and to set up first one, then another, creature of his own as puppet Emperor of the region between the Yellow River and the Yangtze Kiang; and this "Ts'i" Empire, as the second edition of it was called, together with Corea, Tangut (the Ordos region), and the Ouigours became vassals of the now firmly established "Golden," or Kin, dynasty. Ukimai died in 1135, at the age of sixty-one.

He was succeeded by his nephew Hala, or Khara, who seems to have definitely moved from the old "upper capital" to another apparently lower down the Altchuk, and most probably the newly-built one just mentioned, and the only one officially visited by Chinese envoys in 1125, when they specially mention that all was in disorder and

rebuilding. Khara first drew up a calendar, which, in accordance with precedent, was imposed upon Corea as a vassal state. The capacity of the Nüchens to reform the calendar was derived from their having carried off with the Chinese Emperor all his observatory and instruments. The Ts'i Empire was soon abolished, and Ho Nan (*i.e.*, the land "south of the Yellow River") appropriated. China south of the Yangtsze was given to a scion of the Sung Dynasty released from captivity, who now for the first time began to rule at Hangchow; that is to say, he was officially recognised as Emperor of a region the Nüchens had never entered. This Hangchow is Marco Polo's "Kinsai," *i.e.*, *King-sze*, or "metropolis"; and the reason why he calls the empire "Manzi" is because the Southern Chinese probably did then what they certainly do at this day, *i.e.*, scoffingly call all Tartars (and by extension sometimes even Northern Chinese) by the name *ta-tsz*, whilst the latter in turn call the southerners *man-tsz*; very much as the Americans in a rough popular way divide Northern and Southern Europeans into "Dutchman and Dago," accordingly as they say "ja" or "si" for "yes." From this moment almost to the close of the dynasty, Corea, Tangut, and Sung (after some years of war) were obedient vassals of the Golden Dynasty, which (barring a few visits from the Ouigours) never had foreign relations with any other Power. Even Japan is only once casually mentioned, and that merely in connection with some shipwrecked mariners. Khara, in 1140, found it expedient to confirm in his title the forty-ninth Duke of Confucius, but the Manzi Empire also "ran" a Duke of its own in the south. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1897.) Khara unfortunately took to violence and drink, which led to his murder by Tikunai in 1149, at the early age of thirty-one.

Tikunai was grandson of Akuta by the eldest son, and no doubt the murder of his cousin Khara was partly prompted by jealous considerations of seniority. He was

of all Emperors in China "the biggest blackguard on record," according to his own history as compiled by Tucta the Mongol. His whole reign is a sickening story of murder, cruelty, and debauchery. He also was murdered in the end ; this was in 1161, and at the age of forty. Some important things took place in his reign, notwithstanding : the upper capital was razed to the ground, and modern Peking, or a place slightly to the south-west of it (then the southern capital) was made the chief centre of imperial government. There was a Cathayan revolt, apparently in consequence of a natural objection to assist Tikunai in his unjust wars with the Sung Empire. Extensive naval operations were also experimentally undertaken against pirates of the sea-coast.

Ulu was yet another grandson of Akuta, and one of the best rulers China ever had. But some of his measures were too drastic ; for instance, he had a thousand Chinese beggars massacred at Ta-t'ung Fu on the ground of their being a public nuisance. The Cathayan revolt was suppressed, and the Sung Emperor had in future to use his personal name in official communications, call Ulu his uncle, and pay an annual subsidy. In the matter of Corea and Tangut, Ulu behaved very honourably, declining in the case of each country the offer of local traitors to betray those states into his hands. He, like most of the Nüchen Emperors, seems to have heartily despised Buddhism ; and it is remarkable to notice a very large amount of legislation in favour of slaves, whose rights seem to have been steadily defended, not only now, but throughout the Nüchen Dynasty. In spite of his many virtues, Ulu had a decided vein of the old savage Tartar still left in him. Towards the end of his reign he gratified his wish to visit the old capital on the Anch'uhu, which (it is here distinctly stated) he reached four days after fishing in the Hun-t'ung River—that is, either the stretch of the Sungari running from Petuna past Sansing into the Amur, or the stretch between Kirin and Petuna. Corea

and Tangut were dispensed from the laborious duty of paying their respects to him up there; but, fortunately for our knowledge, an earlier envoy from the Chinese Sung Government has left it on record that he travelled 110 li from the (Upper) Sungari to the Larin, and 140 li from the Larin to the upper capital, which enables us to be pretty certain where it was: one mile is three li. Ulu was so pleased with the air and simplicity of the place that he expressed a strong desire to "get drunk and sing native songs," which he accordingly did before an admiring crowd for several days in succession. His son, the regent during his absence, died before he got back to Peking, where Ulu himself died shortly afterwards, at the age of sixty-seven; this was in the year 1189. He had just then finished building one of the temples on the hills to the west of Peking, where in our days the European Ministers and their legations habitually passed the summer, until the very recent discovery of Peitaiho near the Shan-hai Kwan opened out better amenities for them.

Ulu was succeeded by his grandson Matako (called after a mountain of that name where he was born), who is said to have been very learned both in Chinese and Nüchen: he and his grandfather both did a great deal in the way of translating Chinese standard works into their own tongue. His reign was remarkably active, in legislation especially, and he made many wise, economical, social, and sumptuary ordinances, upon which, however, we have not space to dwell here. There was a long war with the Sung Empire, which was brought on entirely by the latter's ambition, and ended in well-merited discomfiture and having to pay an increased subsidy. This Emperor was fond of visiting a picturesque temple at a place twelve miles west of Peking, called then, as now, Yü-ch'üan Shan, and where I spent several months during the summer of 1869. He died in 1208, at the age of forty-one.

The next Emperor, son of Ulu, is usually known as the "Prince Successor of Wei," but hardly counts as a proper

ancestral monarch at all ; nor has he, so far as my researches go, any ascertainable Nüchen name. He managed to struggle to the throne through an orgy of murders, frauds, and forced abortions. He was no sooner there than he found himself confronted by simultaneous invasions from Tangut and Genghis Khan. The history of the latter important event is shortly this : Yün-tsi (for that is the Chinese name of the Prince of Wei) had been sent by Matako to collect the annual tribute due from Genghis, who at that time, in common with the Tatars (as the Mongol history calls them), Keraites (Marco Polo's Prester John), Merkits, and other kindred tribes, were vassals of the Golden Dynasty, as they once had been of the Cathayans. Genghis declined to perform the *kotow* to Matako's envoy, who, on shortly afterwards becoming Emperor himself, lost no time in sending word to Genghis that he must in future kneel before the imperial mandate. Genghis asked : "Who is your new Emperor ?" The envoy replied : "The Prince of Wei." Genghis then faced south, and, spitting in that direction, said : "I thought the Emperors of China were always men from heaven ; can an imbecile like that fellow be one of them ? Why should I kneel to him ?" And he rode off, leaving the envoy where he was. Of course war immediately followed, and the Mongols, who were now in turn as fresh compared with the degenerate Nüchens as the latter had been a century earlier compared with the degenerate Kitans, soon had possession of Ta-t'ung Fu, Peking, and Liao-yang (the east capital). Matters were made worse for the Nüchens by the rebellion of Tangut and the Cathayans ; and, finally, Yün-tsi was assassinated by a eunuch (1213).

Matako's son, Utupu was the next Emperor ; but the records from this date all perished during the bloody wars of Genghis' and Ogdoi's conquests ; it was only in 1262 that Kublai Khan had recourse for purposes of history to the memory of an old man, supplemented by such disjointed facts as could be gleaned from various odd docu-

ments which had escaped destruction. Utupu had to transfer the seat of his government to the "southern capital" of modern K'ai-fung Fu in Ho Nan, to which place larger numbers of the Peking people followed him. For ten years the Nüchens held out bravely against the combined attacks of Genghis, the Tanguts, and the Sung. In vain Utupu upbraided his former vassals with their cowardice and ingratitude, warning them that the Mongols would be certain, after destroying him, to turn next upon them. Utupu died "game" in 1223, at the age of sixty-one, resisting to the last.

He was succeeded by his son Nungiasu, from whom the foolish Tanguts wrested the privilege of having their own calendar, and of being "younger brother" instead of "vassal"; but Genghis had already taken their capital in 1218, and in 1227 they collapsed altogether. Corea alone remained faithful, as she has invariably done to all expiring Chinese dynasties. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1896.) The cowardly Chinese of the Sung Empire, when appealed to for supplies of grain, not only refused assistance to the Nüchens, but supplied it to the Mongols, whose general, Subudai the Uriangkit, took the southern capital in 1233. Early in 1234 Nungiasu abdicated to a relative of his, on the ground that he himself was "too fat" to cope with the situation, and then committed suicide. The relative in question was almost immediately murdered by the excited soldiery; and thus ends the Golden Dynasty of the earlier Manchus or Nüchens, of which very little is at present known by Europeans, owing to the Chinese regarding it as an irregular power—much as the Romans regarded the Alarics, Theodoric, and other part-conquerors of their realm—and almost ignoring its history.

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The habits of the Nüchens up to A.D. 1000 differed in few respects from those of the ancient tribes from which they are clearly proved to descend. During the summer they

moved about as their animals ate up the grass ; in the winter they lived in holes or caves, roofed in with mud, along the river-banks ; it was only when the fourth chief moved to the Anch'uhu that *nakoli*, or "houses," were instituted. The Tunguses alone of all Tartar tribes seem to have reared pigs on a wholesale scale ; but the Nüchen Tunguses were not *kumiss* drinkers, nor true nomads like the Turks, and even like the Tungusic Sienpi (ancient Kitan) races. They had no knowledge of smelting, and were willing to pay fabulous prices for iron. It was the custom for sons to move into a separate dwelling on attaining manhood. Hence probably the migration to the Anch'uhu. From stray allusions in Chinese history, it appears certain that the pigtail was worn by them then as it is by the Manchus now ; and, like the Cathayans, they wore an apron-like garment akin to our modern "combinations" ; marriage by capture seems to have prevailed : in fact, the Emperor Ulu prohibited its continuance in the Bohai region. Another custom borrowed from the Cathayans was the "shooting of willows" on certain solemn occasions during the summer and autumn, evidently connected with the old Sienpi ceremony of riding round a coppice, or round a bunch of willow-twigs. This practice usually accompanied the worship of heaven, the execution of prisoners, obeisance to the sun, and so on. An oblation of white (? pure) water was made before marching forth on military expeditions—perhaps the same idea as Genghis Khan's "drinking the waters of the River Panchul" with his allies ; and oaths of fealty were taken in front of a stake : "If I prove false, may my body lie under this stake." For provisions the flying columns carried parched flour for mixing with water. The military system had attained great perfection when the career of conquest began : "their tactics were almost supernatural" ; and every man, a hunter in times of peace, was a warrior at immediate call. The modern Manchu "banner" organization was practically in force, for the *mingan* consisted of 1,000

families, and the *meu-k* (the Chinese form of a Solon word) of 100. For a time both Cathayans and a limited number of Chinese were organized into *mingan* and *meuk*, just as the later Manchus organized the Mongols and a limited number of Chinese into "banners"; and synchronously with these changes the *mingan* and *meuk* varied in numerical strength. But this organization was always kept quite separate from the "ordinary," or Chinese, administration. After their rebellion in 1161 the Cathayan *mingans* seem to have been broken up, and the people of that nation were distributed over various districts so as to weaken their power; hence, probably, why the Solons of the Amur come to be the ancestors of the Kitans.

It was not until 1123 that the second Emperor, Ukimai, imitating the Cathayans, "put on the purple"—or perhaps "scarlet"; his system of government was organized in 1133. In 1139 Khara first wore, or insisted upon the use of, Court clothes; and already in the time of Ulu strenuous efforts had to be made to prevent Chinese degeneration from sapping Nüchen virility; it was in Ulu's and Matakō's time that most of the general legislation took place. As financiers the Nüchens are respectfully spoken of, and considering that the Mongol historians lost no opportunity of sneering at them, it is plain that at first their government must have been tolerably good, as nothing is urged against it. In 1154 bank-notes were introduced. Towards the end taxation became harassing and tyrannical. Nearly all the Emperors were free from Buddhist weakness, and there is scarcely any mention of religion at all, except in the direction of restricting the numbers of temples and priests. There was some difficulty in reconciling Tartar and Chinese customs in mixed cases; but on the whole the law was liberal and equal, the sole privilege reserved for Nüchens being that Nüchen custom should prevail where Nüchens were parties to a cause. The circuit judges were provided with Chinese, Nüchen, and Cathayan secretaries. Chinese ideas upon surnames, marriage, and exogamy gave some difficulty, but at last

even frontier tribes had to refrain from marrying into the same clan name from the date of their submission to the Golden Dynasty. At first the Nüchens had no ancestral worship, having evidently imbibed their ideas on this subject from the Chinese. Nüchens were on several occasions prohibited by ordinance from using Chinese surnames or translating their own into Chinese; in fact, like the Manchus, they had to keep up a perpetual struggle against the effeminate habits which insidiously enveloped them in China. It is nowhere stated that, as with all true nomad Tartars, wives were passed on from father to son and from brother to brother; but in 1168 it was ordained that "Chinese widows or Bohai widows of brothers should be allowed to return to their parents and remarry," which looks as though the Nüchens were once in the habit of passing on wives like the Turks, Mongols, and Cathayans (or at least like the Sienpi, who were the Cathayan ancestors); but waived this custom in favour of true Chinese and bastard Nüchens. In 1129 step-brothers and step-sisters, whether paternal or maternal, were forbidden to intermarry.

The Nüchens were great sportsmen; after 1129 there was an annual ceremony at the beginning of the new year of presenting the "first goose" shot as an offering to the ancestral temple; apparently the idea was taken from the Cathayans, who used also to celebrate the catching of the "first fish" from the Sungari: it was Akuta's sullen refusal to dance on this occasion that forced the Cathayan Emperor to definitely suspect his loyalty; and one Cathayan Emperor made the Ouigour envoys do so. It will be recollected that the early Dutchmen were compelled to dance in this way before the Shogun of Japan. In 1189 "trapping, netting, and wholesale hawking" were prohibited, "in order to keep up the science of archery"; hawking, especially, was a favourite pastime, and the *hai-tung-ch'ing* from the Korean coasts and the Southern Ussuri province are frequently mentioned in all Tartar histories. The word Nüchen, or Churché, is said to mean (? in what language) *hai-si*, or

"sea-west"; *hai-tung* means "sea-east"; unfortunately, the word "sea" is often vaguely used in China in the sense of "desert" and "river"; moreover, the modern Manchu word for "sea" appears to be *mederin*, whilst the Nüchen word was *telin* (written in Chinese); so that we cannot extract philological matter hence. The *ch'ing* were the gray variety, but there were also *hai-tung-poh*, or "white." Both belonged to the *huh*, or *falconidae*. Ball-playing was popular at Court; there are indications that one form of it was simply *polo*, as horses were used.

There are numerous indications that the Nüchens were politically almost Anglo-Saxon in their independent simplicity. Besides their generous and almost equal treatment of Cathayans and Chinese, and their frequent legislation in favour of women and slaves, we have the positive statement that their primitive laws were destitute of complication or privilege. The punishments were the birch-rod, confiscation, and battering out the brains; and their prisons were underground pits; and apparently most penalties could be ransomed; but whether this was before or after Hanpu introduced *weregild* I cannot say. There was a form of salute called *sasu*, said to mean "hand-wagging," which suggests our hand-shaking—a ceremony unknown to the Chinese.

A great deal has been written about the Nüchen form of writing, which so far has resisted all attempts to decipher it consecutively and grammatically. The celebrated inscription in the Nankow Pass near Peking, published in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, has now been proved by Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Peking, and by the late M. Gabriel Devéria to be Tangut, and not Nüchen. Mr. Pozdneyev, in a Russian work on Manchuria, mentions a Nüchen inscription at T'ir, near the mouth of the Amur; but I am not aware that it has been actually proved to be such. Even the inscription of Salican (*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1870), described by Mr. Wylie, may turn out to be Cathayan, for I find on referring in Nüchen history to Salican's biography,

that he lost his life in consequence of an enemy having addressed to him a secret political letter written in the "smaller Cathayan character," with a view to encompassing his destruction. But as Nüchen is officially stated to be based on Cathayan, it is not impossible that Salican knew both. In 1887 Dr. Hirth (now in Munich) discovered a Chinese key to the Nüchen script; but whether the Berlin authorities, in whose possession I believe it now is, have utilized it in order to elucidate all the points raised by M. Devéria (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882) I do not know. I learn, however, from M. Chavannes that M. Grube has ascertained from a study of that key that another inscription, known as that of Yen-t'ai, is undoubtedly Nüchen. This much is quite certain: the Annamese, Tanguts, Cathayans, and Nüchens all constructed for themselves syllabaries formed by the comparatively simple process of grouping together in an incongruous way the strokes or halves of Chinese characters. With Annamese this is quite easy, for the language consists of monosyllabic and tonal roots like Chinese; but, as at least two of the other three languages mentioned are agglutinative, purely phonetic signs had to be devised for prefixes and terminations, as well as ideographs for root-meanings or roots. No doubt in connection with or in continuation of the same inventions it was that, for sesquipedalian languages like Corean and Japanese, systems of a more purely syllabic, not to say alphabetical nature, were evolved from the same mutilated Chinese materials, eked out with ideas derived from Sanskrit or Pali priests, who wandered all over China at that time. The story of Nüchen script, as I gather it from Nüchen history, is as follows: In the year 1119 was issued to the public the Nüchen form of script invented by Wanyen Hiyin, and in 1125 one Yelu was ordered up to the capital to teach it. In 1138 the Emperor Khara himself invented a new form of Nüchen, called the "small" (or short-hand) character; it was ordained that Cathayans, Nüchens, and Chinese should each use their own writing,

and that the Bohai people were to count for this purpose as Chinese. In 1145 the first official use of these small characters was made, and in 1183 a considerable number of Chinese classical books, histories, etc., were published in Nüchen; a little later all hereditary *mingans* and *menks* had to be able to read Nüchen before succeeding to their commands; in 1188 a Nüchen college was established; it is distinctly stated, however, that the Emperor Matakō was the only one of the Nüchen princes who ever became a really competent scholar in his own language. In 1191 the Cathayan written character was abolished, but Chinese and Nüchen law-clerks still accompanied each circuit judge. In 1194 Yelu Kushen's memory was honoured with a temple at the upper capital because (like the semi-mythical Ts'ang Kieh, it is at the same time stated, who was similarly honoured for inventing Chinese) he "first made the Nüchen script."

Now Yelu, Yelu Kushen, and Wanyen Hi-yin, are manifestly one and the same man, for in Wanyen's biography it is stated that his "old name" was Kushen. He was the son of one Hwantu, and his great-grandfather had been an intimate and fellow-villager of the fifth Nüchen chief, who, as we have seen, was a Cathayan *tiyin*, or "governor," and would therefore be a man of some ideas and instruction. Yelü was the surname of the Cathayan royal house, and it would be quite customary to "present the royal surname" to a prominent man, who, being of the royal Nüchen Wanyen tribe, as his name shows, would naturally revert to his own surname when the Nüchens overturned the Cathayans. Yelu scarcely differs in sound from Yelü. Wanyen Hi-yin was present at the taking of Peking, and his name is mentioned later on in connection with Kara-Cathayan and Tangut plots. It is said in his biography that Khara was jealous of him, and that, having been degraded in 1139, he was "allowed to commit suicide" by the same Khara. Khara is stated to have been jealous because he had no son of his own; it might have been literary jealousy, too.

There were a great many shiftings about of populations during the early part of the Nüchen dynasty. Useful Chinese, such as artisans and scribes, were moved up to the upper capital on a wholesale scale, and Nüchens from the unproductive lands of the Altchuk Valley were sent westward to cultivate parts of the old Cathayan metropolitan circuit—what is now the modern Korchin Mongol reserve; the Salican above mentioned was one of the few who successfully resisted this forced emigration from his ancestral river. There are no details of population until 1183, when it was found that there were 615,624 households of 6,158,636 souls (one quarter slaves), under 202 *mingans* and 1,878 *meuks*, cultivating 1,690,380 *k'ing*—say 26,000,000 acres—of land, and owning 285,000 cattle. In 1190 there were 6,939,000 households of 45,447,900 souls in the whole empire (apparently inclusive of *mingans* and *meuks*), which then extended to the river Hwai, and included Shen Si, Shan Si, Shan Tung, Ho Nan, and even part of Kiang Su. By 1195 these figures had gone up to 7,223,400 and 48,490,400 respectively. This is a very high figure indeed for so limited an area; but even in Nüchen times the Mongol wars had considerably reduced this, and in 1274, under Kublai Khan, there was only one third or a quarter of that population in the same area. The Nüchens had half a dozen different classes of householders: the “proper” were genuine Nüchens; the “mixed” were Cathayans and Chinese. The other classes are not clearly defined, but they point to a probable discrimination between soldiers, scholars, colonists, occupiers of tents, slaves, etc. In 1193 there were 11,495 officials in the Nüchen Empire, 6,790 being Chinese, and 4,705 Nüchens; no Kitans.

Mr. Pozdneyev is in error when he says that the Mongol history makes no mention of Northern Manchuria. During the Mongol Dynasty (1234-1368) scarcely a year passes without some mention of the Nüchens, who are throughout in most cases mentioned with the “Water Tatas;” these appear to have been the descendants of those “Black-

waters" north of the Hun-t'ung (Dr. Bretschneider thinks perhaps the "Su Moals" or "Water Mongols" of Rubruquis are meant). In 1283 both branches of this Tungusic race were placed under the provincial government of Liao Tung-Hai Si. Those Nüchens born in the north-west and ignorant of Chinese were treated as Mongols, the rest as Chinese—so far as holding office went. They took an important part in the disastrous invasion of Japan under Hung San-K'iu (Marco Polo's Von-sani-cin). The modern Mukden was part of Nayan's appanage: Kublai had to march in person against this Prince, as correctly stated by Marco Polo, whose "Barscol" may possibly be Bars-koto on the Kerulun, and perhaps the *kotun* city of Cathayan history, which was certainly situated about there. In 1697 the Manchus mention a place called Pa-r-s-ku-r, near Hami; but Nayan's appanage hardly went so far west. There were "dog-posts" on the Sungari-Amur roads under an official called the *tucta-khasun*; but nothing is said of such in Nüchen times, though the Nüchens often brought dogs to Cathay as tribute. The dogs in Mongol times were fed on fish. After 1330 the word Nüchen does not occur, but a tribe called the "Ushe Wild Men" are mentioned with the Water Tartars as being in joint revolt. Both in Cathayan and Nüchen history this tribe is frequently mentioned under the same name, or as "Uje" or "Uzhe," and their habitat seems to have been west of modern Ninguta. In 1355 a decachiliarch was placed over the "Wushe" Wild Men, with residence at Harfen. This is probably the Harpin of to-day, one of the railway-stations on the Russo-Kirin-Tsitsihar line, where it is joined by the Vladivostock branch. The word also seems to occur in Nüchen history in the form Holipin-te, said to be on the north border.

During the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, there does not seem to be a single instance where either Nüchen or Water Tartars are even so much as named as individual peoples. But in 1387 a decachiliarch of the Uche, Nüchen, and

Kilimi was established, with residence west of K'ai-yüan city. In this Government was a Kin-shui Ho, or "Gold-water River," running north into the Sung-hwa Kiang—manifestly the Altchuk running into the Sungari. The word Kilimi also occurs in Nüchen history as the name of a tribe to their extreme east. Mr. Pozdneyev speaks of an ancient fortification near Mergen called *Urkho-Kherim* by the natives, and this might have something to do with the *Kilimi* in question: possibly the Cherim Mongols of to-day: but the direction given is rather wrong. During the Ming founder's long reign even Peking was the appanage of his son, and scarcely yet formed part of the organized empire—*à fortiori* places north of it. That son conducted several campaigns into the "Uliangha" country, which was divided into three military circuits, possibly co-extensive with the decachiliarch's three tribes. As the natives of those military districts were allowed to come and sell horses at K'ai-yüan and Kwang-ning, which places still exist under those names, and as a portion of those natives are called "Hai-si," it is evident that some, at least, were Nüchens, and lived in Central Manchuria or Kirin. Moreover, in 1486, natives of the same three districts were allowed to take refuge in Liao Tung from revolvers, so that probably all three were well north of the Liao Valley. During the next 150 years the same tribes made frequent raids upon Kwang-ning and Liao Tung, and in 1606, after one such raid, we are suddenly told that "all the Kalka Mongols joined the Manchus;" so that it is evident there must have been some connection between these natives and the Manchus. As the Manchus edited the Ming history, of course they would not dwell too much therein upon their own humble origin. As to the word Uliangha, the Mongols in the dynasty previous to the Ming always use it in the sense of a Mongol tribe; for instance, the great conqueror Subudai above mentioned, who, besides beating the Nüchens, assisted in the conquest of Russia, was, as also, of course, his son Ulianghadai (=man of Uliangha),

who served in Burma, a native of that tribe. Even the Persian author Rashid (according to Dr. Bretschneider) mentions Subudai as an "Uriangkhit." It is difficult to explain why the name of a Mongol tribe should be thus apparently transferred to the whole people of Manchuria, except on the hypothesis that, as we have seen, those Nüchens who were ignorant of Chinese ways were assimilated to Mongols; and perhaps the Uliangha tribe was preëminent there when the Mings drove the Mongols from China. It is a curious fact that the modern Koreans have a word *Orangk'ai*, meaning (so far as I could ascertain when in Corea) "foreigners," but only those to their north in Chinese territory. Both the Kitan and the Nüchen histories mention a Wolangkai tribe bringing tribute of deer and dogs. Finally, amongst the five Nüchen tribes the Mongol history enumerates Wotolin; and Manchu history says that the first ancestor of whom they have any record—Nurhachi, born in 1559—came from Otoli, which was between Ninguta and Kirin, on the head-waters of the Hurka River.

To come now to the present dynasty. Its originator, Nurhachi, only gradually discovered, after conquering the tribes around him, that they practically all spoke one and the same language, or dialects of it. Among those tribes he mentions the Noyin, Wanyen, Hurka, Tung-hai, Wochi, and Khuifa, the last five all mentioned in Nüchen history, the last one in Kitan history, and the first is perhaps one of Nayan's old districts. Wochi is plainly Uje, Uche, or Ushe. Whilst a mere chieftain, we find Nurhachi descanting upon the virtues of Ulu and the vices of Tikunai, so that he must even then have had some knowledge of Nüchen history; in 1619 his state was bounded by Corea, the river Nun (Petuna), the Korchin Mongols, and then eastwards over Hai-si—the old name once more; his title was (not *Khagan*, but) *Khan*, which is a very old Siempi word. His successor, Abkhai, the same year making a raid near Peking, sent an officer named Sakhalien (also a

Nüchen name) to sacrifice at the tombs of Akuta and Ulu, which lay six miles outside the north gate of Fang-shan city, south-west of Peking. But the following statements made by him are particularly interesting: "I am not the lineal descendant of the Golden Dynasty, any more than the Chinese dynasty of Ming is the lineal descendant of Chinese Sung. In both cases *tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*. Our state originally consisted of the Manchus, Khuifas, etc., which the ignorant call Chushen; but the descendants of the true Chushen lie towards Mergen, and have no concern with us. Henceforth simply say *Manchu*." (It must be remarked, however, that the highly-educated Emperor K'ien-lung a century later says: "We Manchus are the Gold Source" (*i.e.*, the Nüchens), "and the land we administered when our state began was called Chushen.") In 1642 Abkhai said; "I now possess all the Golden Dynasty possessed" (plainly meaning "before they took Peking"). In 1644 Peking was taken, and his son was the first Manchu Emperor of China. One of the very first things the new Emperor did was to send to Fang-shan to find out exactly where the two graves were. He and his successor K'ang-hi repeatedly repaired the tombs, the roads to them, etc., and offered sacrifices to the *manes*. In 1747 the Emperor K'ien-lung said: "In the last chapter of the Golden Dynasty History, which discourses upon native Nüchen words, there are many absurd errors, owing to the Mongol author Tucta having recklessly copied in Chinese character things he did not in the least understand. He failed to see that all he had to do as a historian was to give the mere *sounds* of original Nüchen words as closely as possible, and not to trouble himself to fit them with Chinese characters of this or that supposed suitable meaning. The true significance of their titles and personal names can only be seen after a comparison with Manchu words having the same meaning. I have directed that all future editions shall be corrected by the Premier Nochin, with Manchu words alongside, as

arranged under my direction. Shopkeepers are, notwithstanding, still allowed to sell off existing stocks if they choose, if only as literary curiosities." The list of words is quite a long one; but the Emperor, who was an efficient Mongol and Tibetan scholar, and very fond of dabbling in philology, shows that many of them were not Nüchen at all, but either Mongol or Solon. Among the words which I myself know to be original or borrowed Manchu, though I am ignorant of the language, he gives the following: *peile*, *kurun*, *ilan* (three), *mingan*, *ordo* (government office), *fiyanku* (younger), *uyun* (nine), *sakhalien* (black), *uju* (first, or head), *aisin* (gold=*anch'un*). He enumerates among the Solon words apparently borrowed by the Nüchens from the Cathayans *meuk*, "a village," and identifies the modern Solons (still China's best warriors) with the ancient ruling caste of Kitans. Akuta's title of *tu-pekiere*, or "high duke," was also partly borrowed, *tu* being a Solon word meaning "high," and *pekiere* the Manchu title (still in use) of *peile*.

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Russian influence has so far avoided Cathayan or modern Mongol territory. The railway runs from Port Arthur through Newchwang, Liao-yang, Mukden, K'ai-yüan—following, in fact, the old post-road—up to Mergen. A branch will doubtless pass through Ninguta from Vladivostock, and join the main line at Harpin east of Petuna. The Russians, in fact, stand exactly in the shoes of the conquering Nüchens and Manchus, and at this moment have more troops under their command at Port Arthur than either of those two peoples ever had at Kwang-ning. The modern Manchus stand in the shoes of the degenerate Nüchens of Genghis' time. Corea has never been able to resist any imperial dynasty established in South Manchuria, and (unsupported) could scarcely resist Russia to any effect. The one essential point which is necessary for the complete success of Russian "designs" on China (assuming, which I by no means do, that such are entertained) is the Shan-hai Kwan, where the Manchus have the good sense to keep their best forces, and through

which runs the "English" railway. From the Boer War the Chinese ought to learn the efficacy of entrenchments and repeating Mausers, and their *ma-tsei* or "horse bandits" of Manchuria might be turned into very useful "Boers."

P.S.—I beg to refer readers to the excellent Russian map published by the Ministry of Finance a year or two ago, with a copy of which Mr. Pozdneyev kindly furnished me. The Chinese Envoy who in 1125 proceeded by way of modern Peking to Altchuk, in order to congratulate the Nüchen Emperor Ukimai upon his accession, followed the line of the new "English" railway past the Shan-hai Kwan to Mukden, and the following three places named by that envoy are actually marked as existing names on the modern English map (sold in London) recently issued by Mr. Waeber, formerly Russian Minister in Corea :

1. Chwang-wang Tien (26 miles south of next).
2. Old Yü-kwan (35 miles south of the Shan-hai).
3. T'ao-hwa Tao (120 miles further north-east ; an island).

The envoy passed also through Hien Chou (the old name of Kwang-ning).

Shên Chou (the old name of Mukden).

From Mukden to Altchuk he followed the new Russian railway, and actually names P'u-ho, thirty-three miles from Mukden, which is on Mr. Waeber's modern map ; and proceeded thence through T'ieh-ling, K'ai-yüan, Ch'ang-t'u, Fêng-hwa, Ch'ang-ch'un (*alias* Kwan-ch'êng-tsz), across the Sungari and Larin rivers to Shwang-ch'êng ; across the river Altchuk to A-jê Ho, which is the site of the later or lower of the two Upper Capitals ; but all these seven names, though identifiable with the envoy's names, are modern. Ch'ang-ch'un, however, was a Nüchen name. The village of Harpin, six miles south of the Sungari after it turns round to the north-east, is, as we have seen, mentioned several times in ancient history : this is where the new line from Vladivostock and Ninguta joins that from Mukden, to proceed in a north-westerly direction across the river Argun to Nertchinsk.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.

BY AFRICANUS SECUNDUS.

THERE have been some obvious sarcasms over disposing of the bear before killing him, but unless we are to assume that a united British Empire is unequal to the task to which it has set itself in South Africa, we need not be deterred, even after the inevitable early British reverses, from the discussion of a question which is really urgent in point of time. It may, however, be admitted that in Natal, at any rate, there has been a little premature eagerness to handle the question of settlement as one of spoils. Sir Hercules Robinson, in the early days of his governorship of the Cape, gave great offence by speaking of the little colony of Natal as having a soul too big for her body. The soul has by no means shrunk with years, and after the certainly valiant aid which Natal has rendered the Empire during this struggle, Natalians may be pardoned if they think that the best way to cure the disparity, which the Cape Governor flung in their faces is to get a little more body. How much is a matter I will deal with at a later stage. The general question of settlement is one that it is not at all premature to discuss in all its bearings, since the close of the war will bring to the front a multitude of questions, personal, financial, and political, which will not wait for settlement. Prompt decisions will have to be given both by the home authorities and by their representatives in South Africa, and upon such decisions will depend to an extent almost unparalleled in history, the peace and well-being of half a continent. Let us at least not be taken blindly by surprise, as we were with the defective range of our artillery in warfare. If our military operations failed at first from lack (amongst other things) of local advice and information, let us at least see that those who have to resettle South Africa,

after the greatest disturbance in its history, are enabled to take the measure of the task.

The settlement presents itself in two aspects—the temporary and the permanent; and it is the latter which has naturally called forth most attention in England. That the talk of a “Dominion like Canada” has been a little too easy is something which I shall presently deal with. In South Africa people are far more concerned with the temporary aspect of the resettlement than with the final condition of the country politically. The loss, confusion and misery of this conflict have been felt, and, I would add, endured uncomplainingly in South Africa, to an extent impossible to be realized in England. I am not speaking of mourning for the dead. The war has taken its death-toll of the noblest families, as of the poorest, in the old country, just as it has of the flower of colonial youth. But in displacement from home and business, in certainty of heavy loss both in town and country by looting, and in a hundred ruinous disarrangements of ordinary life, the burden is mainly South African. It is no wonder, therefore, that colonists, echoing the tone of a famous telegram, are inclined to cry, “Let confederation wait.” They want to recover what is left of their property, and have law and order secured so that they can get to work again. There never was a war before this, in which it was deemed necessary to expel the entire urban population of a State as a preliminary, or in which the civil relationships of the people were in such confusion. Immediately upon complete occupation of the republics, we must presume that some law will run, besides the mere will of the officer in supreme command, and queer as some of the results of a continuance of the standing laws of the republics may be, I do not see what other course is possible. The repeal of bad laws and the reform of the whole republican system can only come by slow degrees; and meanwhile there will be a thousand questions between man and man which will not wait. One or two examples will best illustrate the statement. A British subject being

desirous of becoming a member of the Johannesburg Sanitary Board—a paid office—took the oath of allegiance to the republic, and became a burgher liable to be commandeered for military service. Of course, in common with most people outside Boer confidences, he never anticipated that a time would come when he might be called upon to fight his own countrymen. That, however, is just what happened ; but as he had become a refugee, his dwelling-house, said to be a rather fine building, was, in strict accordance with republican law, declared forfeited. The Government sold it to some favourite for a mere song, and the man who has bought it will certainly claim to retain possession, while it is equally certain that the man who has been dispossessed will think it very hard in a British settlement of affairs if he is to be robbed of his property because he would not remain to fight Great Britain. It is clear, however, that the new authorities will have to take the law or leave it ; they cannot administer it to suit their own sentiments, for that is just one of the evil things done by the Boers that, combined with others, have brought about the war. Another source of dispute and lawsuits will be found in a decree of the Executive Council at the beginning of the war, which was, I believe, issued for once with the best of intentions, but which will be provocative of untold confusion. It was ordered that during the continuance of martial law no interest or rent should be recoverable, except where it could be shown that there had been beneficial occupation of the property concerned. There was some reason in this, as it would be hard for a mortgager to have the interest on his bond mounting up while a state of war prevented his doing any business in the premises upon which the money was advanced. Equally hard, perhaps, for the mortgagee to bear the whole burden of war loss ; but war presents numerous successions of hard cases. Already two views are held as to the meaning of the proclamation itself. By some it is held that the President's proclamation merely means that all courts would be closed during war-time, and that

interest and rent, while running on as usual, will not be recoverable until the close of the war. The more general view is that payments are intended to lapse altogether. As mortgages are all but universal in South Africa, business transactions will produce a large crop of disputes to settle over this one item alone, and as the continuance of daily business will depend upon settlement, the question will be most urgent. The Transvaal Government itself may be expected to contribute to the list of difficulties of this kind. The Transvaal is the scene of some of the most curious governmental arrangements in the world. When it becomes certain to Boer intelligence that the British will soon be in possession in Pretoria, I should not be surprised at an extensive transfer of the assets of the State, such as the interest of the Government in the Netherlands Railway Company. The undoing of such transactions may involve us in international complications. Strange as it may seem to say so, the very fact that the republics are to vanish will make the work of settlement in some respects all the more difficult, as there will be nobody to look to for redress. The commandoes of the Boers have looted the property of colonists to an appalling extent, not merely capturing cattle for their commissariat—an act which has some of the excuse of war about it—but destroying everything, like so many savages. Who is to pay? Not the republics, for there will be none, and not the individual Boers, for we shall never be able to identify them. There will be no State assets to speak of, as everything will have gone in the war; and, moreover, Great Britain will have to assume the debts of the Transvaal if she takes the country. The reckoning with the mines will be a severe exercise of ingenuity. The Government has been working some mines itself, and taking a modest tax of one-third of the produce from others, and has been discriminating in treatment between those which appear to have most foreign names on the register and those which are believed to be in English hands. Finally, there is some wild talk of wrecking

the mines altogether. Probably the only settlement of this series of difficulties will be for the unfortunate shareholders to resume possession of what is left of their properties and pocket their losses. In the Free State, of course, all questions are immeasurably simpler, as the Government has never played Pretorian pranks, and the population is more homogeneous. There is but one considerable diamond-mine, the Jagersfontein Diamond-mine, and it is not believed that there will be any interference with it. The State has no debt to speak of, and no concessionary complications, while it has a good asset in its trunk line of railway acquired from the Cape Colony.

The new Government will be confronted with one special difficulty, easily to be compassed in the Free State, but of overwhelming dimensions in the Transvaal—I mean the manning of the Civil Service. In the Free State the Service is pure, and there is no reason why it should be interfered with. But the case is very different in the Transvaal. Of deliberate policy the Service has been filled with the foreigners whose intrigues against everything English have been one of the causes of the war. Anti-British patriotism has been made the screen for the most widespread corruption. There are some good men, Colonial Afrikaners and others, in various posts in the State, and it would seem a pity to drive them all out. I can only say that the presence of thousands of displaced Hollander officials will be very embarrassing to the new Government, while, on the other hand, it will never do to restore the reign of official insolence, incompetency, and corruption with which the country has been cursed. Altogether there never was such a tangle. What to do with the Presidents and high officers, whom to repress and whom to restore, how far to go in punishment of rebellion, these and a hundred questions, not to speak of those which the wisest of us cannot anticipate, might well tax the resources of archangels.

So much for the difficulties, which, however trying, must

in the nature of things be evanescent, since the settlement, good or bad, will have to be immediately made, if society is not to be left in a state of chaos. The territorial and constitutional difficulties of settlement have at least this consolatory aspect, that they can be postponed without interfering with the ordinary business of life. They are, however, the weightier of the two groups of questions, because their consequences will, in the nature of things, be the more permanent. Territorially it is understood that Natal is to have something. Ardent Natalians say, with no small voice, that that something should be—the Transvaal and the Free State. There has been talk of a Dominion League in Natal for securing any slices of territory that may be going. The advantage of strengthening Natal by extending her too narrow boundaries is cheerfully admitted by the British section in the Cape Colony. Probably the north-east corner of the Free State and the south-east corner of the Transvaal with Swazieland, will be found to meet the case. For the rest, it is possible that any rearrangements will be fissiparous. The eastern districts of the Cape would like to enter a confederation as a separate province from that containing the western districts, while Griqualand and Bechuanaland would probably also prefer a separate existence from the old Cape Colony. In Rhodesia, Mashonaland would hail with joy a provincial existence independent of Matabeleland. As to what is really likely to take place in these respects, it would be unsafe for the oldest colonist to hazard an opinion. Each side in the great quarrel is afraid of being gerrymandered into a minority in the juggling of settlement—not a very hopeful outlook for federation prospects.

Supposed parallels are misleading. We speak of Canada; but in Canada the French population, presumed to be in some way the counterpart of the South African Dutch, are grouped for the most part in one portion of the country, and the remainder of Canadian land is occupied by British Canadians as closely as England is occupied by

Englishmen. But in South Africa the English, except to a limited extent in the frontier districts of the Cape Colony and in the south of Natal, are confined to the towns and the mines, while the whole broad countryside is Dutch. Consequently the plain truth must be faced, that unless separate town representation is to be granted upon a scale which has not been attempted in any country in the world, the legislature of the Cape will always tend to contain a country or Dutch majority, while in the Free State there are virtually no towns to redress the balance, if the thing could be done that way. The texture of Natal and the Rhodesian legislatures may be expected to remain English. The Transvaal will have a British majority when fields other than the Rand are developed, for even a dozen members granted to Johannesburg alone would not turn the scale against outside districts. And we shall naturally be held to our pledge of "equal rights" in representation. The real source of British weakness in South Africa is that the Briton has not settled on the land as the Boer has done. However, I am not now discussing the South African Question at large, but merely the prospects of settlement with such material as is at hand. I confess I do not see any escape for some years to come from Crown Colony government for the conquered republics, while Rhodesia is being brought into line as a colony, with its public debt agreed upon, and while the urgent practical administrative questions I have just indicated are gradually settled. If Sir Alfred Milner begins a second term as Governor-General in three years' time, we shall have done wonderfully well.

AUSTRALASIA FEDERATION.

BY SCRUTATOR.

THE federation of the important Colonies of Australia has happily reached its last stage. After the process of a *referendum* to the inhabitants of the respective Colonies, the result has been that by a great majority the proposal has been approved of by New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. It only remains for Western Australia to give its adhesion, and there is good ground for expecting that an arrangement will soon be adopted. As regards New Zealand, its distance from Australia may cause some difficulty.

The draft of a Bill for the Constitution of this federation is now in the hands of the Colonial Secretary, and its provisions will be discussed by the British Parliament as soon as the delegates of the various Colonies arrive, and have a conference with the Government as to matters of detail.

The main clauses of the Bill relate to: 1. The Parliament in its respective composition. 2. The Executive Government. 3. The Judicature. 4. Finance and trade. 5. The various Colonies called States, and any new Colonies that may be annexed or created.

The Parliament will consist of a Governor-General appointed by the Queen, as her representative, with a yearly salary of not less than £10,000. The Governor-General will have the power of summoning and proroguing Parliament. There will be a Senate, directly chosen by the people of the respective States, and until Parliament otherwise provides, there shall be six Senators for each original State. These Senators will be chosen for a term of six years. The law prescribing the method of choosing the Senators shall be uniform in all the States, and Parliament may determine the times and places of their election. The qualification of each Senator shall be the same as those of

a Member of the House of Representatives, one-third of which shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate and to exercise its powers.

The House of Representatives will be composed of members directly chosen by the people of the Commonwealth, and the number of such members shall be, as nearly as practicable, twice the number of Senators, and the number of Members chosen shall be in proportion to the inhabitants, and until Parliament otherwise provides, a quota shall be ascertained by dividing the number of the people of the Commonwealth, as shown by the latest statistics, from which it would appear that the total would be sixty-two members, distributed as follows :

STATE.		POPULATION.		MEMBERS.	
1. New South Wales	1,348,400	...	23
2. Victoria	1,162,900	...	20
3. Queensland	482,400	...	8
4. South Australia	370,700	...	6
5. Tasmania	132,300	...	5
Totals	3,546,700	...	62

Of the Parliament thus constituted, at least one-third of the whole members shall form a quorum for the exercise of its powers; and each Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives shall receive an allowance of £400 a year, and their powers, privileges and immunities shall be the same as those of the British House of Commons. This Parliament will have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth, and those appropriating revenue or money, or imposing taxation, shall not originate in the Senate.

When a proposed law passed by both Houses is presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the constitution of the Commonwealth, that he assents, in Her Majesty's name, or that he withholds assent, or reserves the same for the Queen's pleasure.

The Executive Government will be invested in the

Queen, and exercised by the Governor-General as her representative. There will be a Federal Executive Council to advise the Governor-General, the members of which shall be chosen by himself; and he may also appoint officers to administer the departments of State established by him. They shall hold office during his pleasure, and shall be the Queen's Ministers of the Commonwealth; their number, however, shall not exceed seven, and the money payable to these officers as salaries out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Commonwealth, until Parliament otherwise provides, shall not exceed £12,000 yearly. The command of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth will be vested in the Governor-General as the Queen's representative.

The judicial power will consist of a Federal Supreme Court, and such other courts as Parliament may create. The High Court will consist of a Chief Justice, and so many other Justices, not less than two, as Parliament directs. These Justices will be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The jurisdiction of the High Court will be: to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders, and sentences of Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the High Court or other Federal Courts, or of the Supreme Courts of any State; and it is provided that the Constitution shall not impair any right which the Queen may be pleased to exercise by virtue of her royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the High Court to Her Majesty in Council, relating to various matters as to treaties, Consuls and States.

All revenues or moneys raised or received by the Executive Government shall form one consolidated fund, to be appropriated for the purposes of the Commonwealth in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by the Constitution.

The Constitution of each State will continue as at the establishment of the Commonwealth, until altered by the State itself, and every law in force in a Colony shall con-

tinue, unless it is inconsistent with that of the Commonwealth, and to that extent will be invalid.

A State shall not coin money, nor make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debt.

The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.

Full faith and credit shall be given throughout the Commonwealth to the laws, the public acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of every State, and the Commonwealth will protect every State against invasion, and on the application of the executive, against domestic violence.

Power will also be given to Parliament to admit into the Commonwealth new States. Such States may be formed by separation of a territory from a State on the consent of the Parliament of the State, or a new State may be formed by the union of two or more States or parts of States, with the consent of the State Parliaments affected.

The usual oath or affirmation of allegiance to Her Majesty is prescribed by a schedule annexed to the Bill.

COLONIAL SOVEREIGNTY.

BY C. DE THIERRY.

As middle-aged men regard the rising generation, so Englishmen regard Colonials. When they refuse to be sat upon, it is audacity. When they assume responsibilities of their own free will—burdens thrust upon them by the Colonial Office are quite another story—it is taking the road to ruin. Indeed, any sign that they have arrived at maturity is looked upon at home with surprise, not unmixed with alarm. To the critical the reason is obvious enough. Neither a common nor a polite education includes the study of Colonial history. Hence the average Briton knows as little of any country beyond his own as the average man elsewhere in the world; the governing class sees Imperial things either in a false perspective, or is ignorant of them altogether. True, of late years Imperialism has received such tremendous impetus that English statesmen have been at the pains to acquire at least a passing acquaintance with the Empire they once despised. But here their good intentions are marred by their constitutional defect. With imagination the little knowledge they possess of the England beyond the sea would illumine their whole political path. But so rare is this quality in the conduct of Imperial affairs, that its appearance marks an epoch. And so we have no definite Colonial policy, and, consequently, no definite foreign policy.

That the Imperial spirit is developed only in the people of these islands is a delusion dear to all sorts and conditions of men, from Cabinet Ministers to Fleet Street scribes. Their limited vision can see only one State from which proceeds the impulse to expansion, only one State invested with sovereign power. In spite of Mr. Kipling, they do not realize that every Colonial Englishman is an Imperialist; in spite of history and experience, their political perspective does not widen, which perhaps

accounts for the fact that more regard is paid to opinion in the United States than to opinion in the Colonies. Is it due to London or to Ottawa that the Empire has a quick route to the East and a North Pacific seaboard? To the Colonial Office or to Mr. Rhodes that British South Africa extends to the Zambesi? To Lord Derby or the Australasian Premiers that we are in possession of British New Guinea? Nor is this all. At least a quarter of the area of the Empire, exclusive of India, is under the direct control of responsible Ministries in the Colonies. That is to say, Queensland, New South Wales and New Zealand, administer territories beyond their own borders; Canada, the Cape Colony, and Natal, administer territories which have geographical continuity with themselves, but no other social or political tie. In other words, the great provinces of the Empire exercise sovereignty.

In this, as in nearly all the important steps made by the Anglo-Saxon world towards union, the Dominion led the way. Even before the Act of 1840, faint glimmerings of her splendid destiny lit up the darkness of that critical time, and her prophetic sons saw her the power in the British Empire she has since become. But it was not until the Confederation of the Maritime Provinces and the Canadas that her future course marked itself out clearly before her. Then she began to see that her prosperity and very existence as England in America depended on an outlet to the Pacific. But between her and the western seaboard lay Rupert's Land, the truly Imperial possession of the Hudson Bay Company. She was, therefore, as completely cut off from British Columbia and the North-West as though an ocean rolled between. In a vague way she had always regarded herself as the direct successor of the Company, an aspiration, which was given practical expression, when her statesmen made provision for the admission of Rupert's Land into the Confederation. Moreover, when in 1857, a Parliamentary Committee, of which Mr. Gladstone, Lord Derby, and Lord John Russell

were members, was appointed to report on the problem presented by the North-West, she sent Chief Justice Draper to watch its proceedings on her behalf. In 1858 the Colonial Office invited her to consider the boundary and other disputes on her Western frontier. But the Government at Ottawa, in an address to Her Majesty, referred these to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a proposition which was at once vetoed by the Hudson Bay Company. During the next ten years several attempts to come to terms were made in the same direction both by Canada and the Colonial Secretary, but they all shared the same fate. But with Confederation the situation wore a new aspect. The far-reaching mind, which moulded Canadian policy for nearly half a century, saw more in the question than the extension of a Colonial farming area. In a letter from Sir John Macdonald to Sir Edward Watkin, dated March 27, 1865, occurs the following passage: "If Canada is to remain a country separate from the United States, it is of great importance to her that they (the United States) should not get behind us by right or by force, and intercept the route to the Pacific." Three years later he went further. "It is imperative," he said, "that we find a broad country for the expansion of our adventurous youth, who are not satisfied to look here and there for an isolated tract fit for settlement. It has consequently always been a political cry in Western Canada that this country must be obtained. No sentimental cry, either, but one eminently practical—a cry expressive both of principle and interest. If this country is to remain British, it is only by being included in the British North American scheme; and in addition to the necessity which we recognise, with a stronger power on our front and flank, of extending over the whole of the British possession here the just and beneficent institutions of government which we ourselves enjoy, we are also swayed by the interested object of finding fresh lands for the outlet of our adolescent population. . . . If the country was offered to

us free, should we hesitate to obtain the extension westward we so much require? Should we be deterred, then, by this Hudson's Bay bugbear of a claim which, if well founded, might be disposed of within moderate limits? If offered to the United States—the recent purchasers of a tract of ice adjoining—can we doubt that they would consent to pay for it an amount equal to the whole debt of Canada four times over? It was but the absorbing interest of the late internecine war that prevented the country from having been overrun already." Early in 1868 an address was sent to the Queen praying Her Majesty to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with Canada. At first it looked as though former diplomatic failures were to be repeated, but the desire of all parties for a settlement was now so strong that the question almost solved itself. The Colonial Office, believing that the independence of Canada was at hand, were anxious "to speed the parting guest." The Hudson Bay Company saw that their princely day was done, and the Dominion was keen to secure the West with its littoral before it was too late. Hence early in 1868 the Duke of Buckingham officially announced to the Government at Ottawa that the transfer of Rupert's Land could be effected, at its pleasure, by arrangement with the Company under authority of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, which Act was duly passed in July of the same year. After much negotiation, it was agreed that 45,000 acres in the vicinity of the great trading posts, and one-twentieth of the fertile belt, should be reserved to the Hudson Bay Company, all other rights, privileges and interests being vested in the Crown on payment of £300,000. This arrangement was accepted by the Dominion Parliament, and provision at once made for the temporary government of the territories. Thus ended the picturesque reign of the "Great Company."

To understand the magnitude of Canada's task, it is necessary to realize the extent and nature of the region, which at the last Downing Street thrust on her with a

hastè that was almost indecent. The total area of Rupert's Land and the North-West is 2,665,000 square miles, or larger than Russia, Austria, and Germany combined. At that time the total area of Canada herself was 389,141 square miles, or less than one-seventh of the territory she was called upon to administer. During the past half-century Russia, France and the United States have each and all extended their sway over States larger than European kingdoms, but the process has been gradual. Canada at one bound carried her frontier across half a continent. An accession of territory so vast has been paralleled only in the British Empire itself. But the size of the North-West was a burden easy to be borne; the character of its population was another matter. There were about 5,000 French and 5,000 Scottish half-breeds, a few English, Canadian, and American settlers, and 30,000 Indians; to these may be added the servants of the Hudson Bay Company. It will therefore be seen that the Dominion's new subjects were, for the most part, anything but promising.

Again, Rupert's Land and the Territories were the "Great Lone Land," a region of "magnificent distances," a trackless wilderness roamed over by the naked savage and the wild animals on which he preyed. Its awful loneliness and remoteness from the world can be conceived only by an Australian Bushman, its intense cold and unutterable silence in winter only by a Yukon miner. Roads there were none, and the posts of the Hudson Bay Company were as widely sundered as the oases of the Sahara Desert. The only countries in modern times which have had to overcome physical obstacles on the same scale are Russia and the United States. But it must always be remembered that Tartars and Chinese made a track, rude as it was, for the advance of the Cossack in Central Asia; the stately Spaniard for the advance of the American in the South and Far West. Moreover, they had no serious rival on their frontier. They were on this account able to build up

an empire at their leisure. Canada was in a very different position. Neither the Indian nor the Hudson Bay Company did anything towards the development of the North-West, the former from incapacity, the latter from policy, and every step of her career was jealously watched by a strong and aggressive power on her southern boundary. Any sign of weakness on her part, and the path of England to the Pacific would have been cut off for ever. It must also be remembered that the Dominion was merely a Colony with a population of little more than 3,000,000 souls; that she was poor, and, though rich in potential resources, had few of those at command; that she was a Confederation less than three years old; that the Canadas themselves had been given a Constitution only thirty years before; and that she had absolutely no experience in Colonial government, and small experience in dealing with a subject race. Her position as a loyal Colony, too, was against her. The English capital, which should have flowed into the North-West, flowed into the United States, because in those days it was an article of faith that the Great Republic was safe from "foreign complications." But with greater natural difficulties, less resources and no experience to guide her, Canada has performed her task in the North-West, better than Russia has performed hers in Central Asia, or the United States hers in the West.

For the Dominion, though she had only just begun to awaken to the call of a national life, had, in the storm and stress of nearly three centuries, developed those qualities which are essential to a ruling race—self-reliance, patience, dignity, and a strong sense of justice. Happily for her, too, she had at the helm a statesman of the first rank in the person of Sir John Macdonald; for all at once Canada's outlook in the North-West became dark and lowering. During the summer, parties of Canadian surveyors had been engaged in making a waggon road from the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, and a track from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods. The Transcontinental Tele-

graph line was begun, and some progress made in surveying the North-West. But unfortunately the Civil Servants employed in this necessary work were neither wise nor prudent, and it is to their tactlessness that much of the half-breed trouble can be directly traced. The appointment of the Hon. William McDougall as Lieutenant-Governor, too, was an error of judgment. Instead of carrying out his instructions by laying a foundation for the new order of things as a private individual, until he was officially notified that Canada had taken over the territory, he assumed the functions of his office on December 1, the date on which it was understood the formal transfer was to be made, and blindly rushed into a course as injudicious as it was feeble. Indeed, so little did he realize the situation that a report on half-breed discontent sent to him before he left Ottawa was forgotten almost as soon as it was read. Even more unfortunate for the Dominion was the illness of Governor McTavish, the highest official of the Hudson Bay Company, and the absence of Bishop Taché, who was in Rome. Here, then, were all the elements of serious trouble. The Indians were rendered restless by the many signs of coming change and the intrigues of Mr. McDougall. The half-breeds were irritated at his proclamation, and by the conduct of Canadian surveyors, and were afraid that the leasehold title by which they held their lands would not be recognised by the Dominion Government. The priests and the French owed no allegiance to the Queen, and had no love for Canada. The officials of the Company, who felt that they were being "set aside for new-comers," naturally resented the change of sovereignty. A little tact and patience would have touched all these jarring elements into harmony; but the Lieutenant-Governor was not the man to do it. On the contrary, his wild words and actions added fuel to the flame of discontent, so that, one fine day, Ottawa was electrified to hear that a rebellion had broken out in the North-West under Louis Riel.

The position was critical and triangular. On the one side was Sir John Macdonald, representing the Imperial policy of expansion ; on the other was the Colonial Office, together with the Hudson Bay Company, selfishly seeking their own ends ; the base was the United States, eagerly watching for a chance to play the same game which had proved so successful in Texas. Sir John, however, was equal to the occasion. So clearly did he see every point in the situation, that neither Lord Granville nor the Company were able to hurry him into making a false step. Let blood be once shed in an encounter between the two peoples, and it might sow seeds of hatred towards Canada and Canadian rule, such as would hamper good government for a generation. In the event of hostilities, the Indian tribes of the North-West and the adventurers of the United States would have been almost irresistibly tempted to join the insurgents. As it was, the Fenian organization sent men, money and promises to Fort Garry, and actually appointed General Spear, of St. Alban's Raid fame, to lead a force across the border the moment the time was ripe. A single mistake, and not only Canada and the North-West, but England and the Republic, might have been involved in war. Unfortunately, neither the Colonial Office nor the Hudson Bay Company was concerned about any of these things. Their sole desire was to wash their hands of the Territory, by throwing the whole responsibility on Canada, when she would have been left to get out of the trouble the best way she could. This would have thrown the game into the hands of the insurgents and Yankee wirepullers, and so the aim of all Sir John's diplomacy was to secure the active co-operation of the home authorities and the Hudson Bay Company, until Canada was given peaceable possession of the Territory. He therefore pointed out to Lord Granville that, upon the Company's surrender of their rights and privileges to the Queen, the responsibility for the peace of the North-West would rest with the Colonial Office, and not with the Government of

Canada, which absolutely declined to accept the transfer in the then disturbed state of the country. In reply to a disingenuous complaint of the Colonial Secretary, he said that the Dominion had not bound the Company to hand over the Territory in a state of peace, because no one dreamed that it would be handed over in any other way. To the Hudson Bay Company he pointed out that no steps had been taken by them to prepare the people under their rule for the change. The consequence was the half-breeds were allowed to believe that they had been sold to Canada without any regard for their rights, until their discontent became a source of public danger, a state of things which was not reported either to the Dominion Ministry or to the Colonial Office. If, therefore, they were not aware of it, the responsibility for such wilful blindness on the part of their officials rested with them, and the wisest course was to continue the old and fully organized government of the Company, while steps were being taken to allay the suspicions of the half-breeds and Indians. In this way the North-West was secured from anarchy. A combined force of English and Colonial troops were despatched under Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley to Fort Garry, and Governor McTavish and his subordinates, in response to urgent messages from London, performed the task which should have been performed a year earlier. When, therefore, Riel and his followers heard the first sound of the British bugles heralding relief to the sorely pressed inhabitants of Red River, they fled, and the rebellion was at an end without firing a shot. On May 2 the Manitoba Bill, embodying a Constitution on the Canadian provincial model, was introduced by Sir John Macdonald, and passed the House of Commons almost without comment. On the following day the purchase-money, £300,000, was paid over to the Hudson Bay Company, and on the 20th the Hon. A. G. Archibald was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in place of Mr. McDougall. A fortnight later an Order in Council transferred Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada.

But the goal of the Dominion's ambition was the Pacific, whose waters washed the shores of British Columbia. Realizing its vital importance to the Confederation, Sir John Macdonald took steps to acquire it directly the British North American Bill became a political fact ; but the Home Government refused to negotiate until Canada accepted the sovereignty of the intervening territory. The area of this far-off Colony is 390,344 square miles, or larger than France and Italy combined. Its population was in 1871 less than 50,000, for the most part diggers and Indians. As they had done in the North-West, the officials of the Hudson Bay Company used their influence to thwart the designs of the Colonial Ministry, and the Governor, who represented the Little England views of Downing Street, was hardly more friendly. Another hostile element in the situation was a party largely composed of American citizens, who desired annexation to the United States. But the diplomacy, which in Rupert's Land forced the Hudson Bay Company to see that their interest lay in working with, rather than against, the Canadian Government, was equally effective in British Columbia. At the critical moment, too, death removed Governor Seymour, and, at the request of Sir John Macdonald, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Anthony Musgrave was appointed to fill the vacant place. In concert with the Hon. Joseph Trutch, the leader of the Unionists, he made an arrangement by which the Province agreed to join the Confederation, on condition that the Dominion built the Canadian Pacific Railway within a certain time. Unlike the North-West, which is governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council, partly elected and partly nominated, British Columbia is governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and a single elective Chamber. On July 20—memorable day in the British Empire—Canada looked out on the Pacific. In 1867 her western boundary was the 90th degree of longitude ; in 1870 it was the Rocky Mountains ; in 1871 it was the great sea ; so that in four

years she had carried her frontier westwards 1,500 miles, and England in America was supreme from ocean to ocean.

But expansion is not everything; unless it acts as a healthy stimulus to the national life and character of the Sovereign State, it has a deteriorating effect, such as brought about the decline and fall of Rome. In other words, it is one of those forces which, if they do not make for good in the world, almost invariably make for evil. Perhaps the soundest foundation, on which the British Empire rests, is the fact that its growth, while undoubtedly fostering a love of luxury in the upper classes, has also developed in Englishmen as a whole some of the finest qualities ever associated with a ruling race. Expansion is, therefore, to the Mother Country the finest moral discipline a nation ever knew, and Canada is worthily treading in her steps. As union and the Empire have together made England what she is, so Confederation and the North-West are together destined to make of the Dominion a great nation. Already she displays in the conduct of State affairs sound judgment, foresight, a sense of responsibility, dignity, courage, patience, and humanity. A shrewd observer once remarked that, in passing from Washington to Ottawa, one leaves behind a provincial atmosphere for the atmosphere of a world centre. Canada, in her political relations, acts, not with the bad manners and worse faith permitted to a new country, but as becomes a great Empire with a noble tradition. Excuse is constantly being found for the Republic on account of its "youth"; for the Dominion, never. Notwithstanding, Englishmen are slow, very slow, to do her honour. So quietly, and with so little apparent effort, has she laid the foundations of her great work in the West that it is only now they begin to realize none but a great people could have done it. Its scale is truly Imperial; its character solid; its spirit in accordance with the highest principles of English colonization. The Mother Country herself might be proud to claim it as her own, than which the Daughter State could desire no higher praise.

In nothing has the Dominion shown a keener sense of responsibility than in her treatment of the Red Man. In the older provinces she had an Indian population of about 25,000, which, though confined to reservations, was well on the way to civilization. So orderly is it, indeed, that crimes of violence are almost unknown, and petty larceny so rare that in one settlement, only a decade ago, not a single Indian had been convicted of that offence for the previous thirty years. In the North-West the conditions were entirely different. True, the Hudson Bay Company was as successful as the French in dealing with the Indian; but while the latter civilized him, it was to the interest of the former to keep him a roaming savage. Hence to the Dominion fell the difficult task of placing him on a reservation, which his soul loathed, and gradually leading him to adopt the habits of a complex and orderly life. Moreover, she had to put his faith in her policy to the severe test of contact with an ever-encroaching civilization. That she has been triumphantly successful is clear from the fact that she is the only self-governing Colony whose dealings with the native race in possession have never awakened the sensitive conscience of humanitarians in this country. Hansard may be searched in vain for a debate on the ways of the Red Man.

Ten treaties, expressed in plain and simple terms, form the Magna Charta of the North-West tribes. By these Canada secured the restriction of the Indian tribe to the soil, in return for which she agreed to pay \$5 a year to every man, woman, and child of the population, and a sum to chiefs and councillors varying in amount according to the rank of the individual. To break up the tribal organization, the Indians were placed on numerous small reservations as near their old homes as possible, and in the near neighbourhood of Canadian settlements, the land to be held in trust by the Government. In this way the two races were put in such a position that they mutually react on one another to their mutual profit, the inferior race

by acquiring the habits of civilized life, the superior race by acquiring a sense of responsibility and national self-restraint. The law which prohibits the sale of liquor is strictly enforced, and no one is allowed to sell to an Indian arms or ammunition without a written permit. Agents, of which there is one on each reservation, are chosen for their high character and experience, holding their posts as long as their conduct gives satisfaction to the Minister for the Interior, to whom they are responsible. In 1884 Sir John Macdonald carried through Parliament the Indian Administration Act, which guarantees the franchise to any Indian wishing to withdraw from the restrictions as well as the privileges of his treaty, and 600 acres of land on the reserve of his tribe. Forty-two schools are maintained at the expense of the Government, and every effort is being made to teach the Indian the art of farming. At one time the whole of the vast region from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies was kept in order by 300 mounted police. Later on the number was increased to 500. Since the opening up of the Yukon Territories it has been still further increased to 1,000. The smallness of the force is, however, eloquent of the distance Canada has travelled on the Imperial road marked out by the Mother Country.

One has merely to cross the frontier to estimate the nature of the Dominion's Indian policy. Her soil has never been reddened by the blood of a native slain in warfare. In the United States fighting with the Indian population has been continuous from the very beginning of their existence. To nineteen separate wars, which have cost the Federal Government over \$500,000,000, may be added massacres, atrocities, fraud, and murders without end. The only representative on an Indian reservation in the United States is that synonym for corruption and rascality, the Indian agent, whose one aim is to make a future during his four years' term of office. Consequently, the cost of the Indian Department, which in the Dominion is \$1,500,000, including the cost of the government of the

North-West Territories, is in the United States, with twice as many Indians, \$13,016,802. In monarchical Canada settlers who squat on Indian land are promptly ordered off by the police. In Republican America it is the Indians who are ordered off; not because the Federal authorities are unwilling to enforce the law, but because they are unwilling to come into collision with State rights. The difference in the policy of the two countries accounts for the fact that when the American Civil War was drawing to an end all the Indians of the plains rose to a man. When Canada was confronted with Riel's rebellion in 1886, the Indians, not having any wrongs to avenge, remained quiet.

Not less striking is the success with which this great Colony deals with a mining population. In the United States a gold rush is always associated with lynch law, vigilance committees, riots, and unseemly disorders of all kinds. Even at this late day, when the whole of the West is practically in touch with civilization, the vicinity of Cripple Creek, in the State of Colorado, furnishes material for seventy inquests a year on victims to violence, and there are other districts of which a similar tale could be told. In the British Empire the miners are as law-abiding as any other element in the population. When the gold fever was at its height between forty and fifty years ago, the diggings of Australia and British Columbia thronged with the same class of men we meet in the pages of Bret Harte. But lynching, and murder, and all the other disorderly incidents of Californian camp-life were in those Colonies conspicuous by their absence. On the Yukon gold-fields Canada is true to the British tradition, and the two systems are sharply contrasted. On the one side of the border every man is a law unto himself. On the other, society, though rough, is held together by a wholesome respect for English justice. From 1880 to 1886 Canadian and American methods of organization were contrasted in a similar way. In those years the Colonials were building

the Canadian Pacific Railway; the Americans were building the Central Pacific Railway. The Dominion project was under the able management of Mr. Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, who employed at one time as many as 5,000 labourers. They were, however, more orderly than the workmen of an English factory. Firearms were confiscated, and the sale of drink entirely prohibited. As an old Yankee contractor once remarked, "When a man breaks the law here, they see justice is dealt out to him a heap quicker and in larger chunks than they would see anywhere in the United States. I tell you there is a way to do it, and they are doing it here right from the scratch." On the American side drunkenness, rioting, and general lawlessness marked the laying of the line from Chicago to the Far West.

Not only has the expansion of Canada quickened her national life; it has also quickened her Imperialism. Within the last ten or fifteen years she has become a potential rival of the United States, and the greatest creative force towards Anglo-Saxon Union in the British Empire, two factors in the world's political situation which are better understood in Washington than they are in London. With Confederation and the acquisition of the North-West, all the intellectual and moral forces, generated in the storm and stress of three stirring centuries, came to maturity, and she could not check them even if she would. By uniting the whole of British North America under the Crown she had taken the first great step towards Imperial Federation. Her next step was to connect it with the English world-chain. To do this she built the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railway, probably the mightiest public work ever undertaken by three millions of people. When the last rail was laid, England was a power in the Western Pacific. She held its key, and she was given an alternate route to the East. In 1886 Canada was the first Colony to conduct a war without the assistance of the Mother Country. In this year of grace 1899 she has begun the Ottawa-Georgian-Bay Canal,

which will enable the navy to defend half her southern frontier, and make Montreal a formidable rival of New York in connection with the grain trade. She forced the hand of the Home Government in the matter of penny post ; she indicated the lines on which the trade-union of the Empire may be effected by giving Great Britain a Preferential Tariff. In short, the expansion of Canada has made her a great nation, whom we ought to estimate at her true value and not merely as a loyal Colony. She has most of the virtues of age, with few of the faults of youth and all its energy and optimism. Hence she craves no indulgence for her newness, and needs none. Her ideal is high, her national character solid, her faith such as may remove mountains. She is the nation whose history has been moulded by La Salle and Champlain, Frontenac and Montcalm, Wolfe and Sir John Macdonald, and above all by the example and tradition, the help and guidance, of the Mother Country herself.

The Cape Colony, between which and Canada there is much in common, has since 1872, when she entered on the self-governing stage of her development, increased her area by 93,580 square miles. But it has been a slow process, making no great demands on statesmanship, and adding little strength either to herself or to the Empire. As a matter of fact, it was Colonial Office pressure rather than the pressure of internal events which induced her to annex Fingoland, Idutywa Reserve and Noman's Land in 1876 ; Walfisch Bay in 1884 ; Tembuland, Emigrant Tambookieland, Bomvanaland and Gcalekaland in 1885 ; and Pondoland in 1894. For, unlike any other self-governing Province of the Empire, the Cape Colony's most pressing problem is the Native Question. Hence to add nearly 700,000 Kaffirs to her already mixed population of Malays, Bushmen, Fingoes, Hottentots, and Kaffirs was a serious responsibility, particularly as the region they occupy is not more than 15,573 square miles in area. But as long as a single independent chief, or a single chief under Imperial control, was

left beyond the Kei River there was constant trouble. War, misrule, cruelty, and injustice, made things so insupportable on her Eastern frontier, and Colonial Office proposals to annex each district in turn were so frequent and so urgent that, bit by bit, she had absorbed all the territories which lie between the Kei River and Natal. For a piece of land at the summit of St. John's River she paid £1,000. Griqualand West has a different story. Until the discovery of diamonds it was claimed by nobody. Then the Boers tried to extend the rule of the Orange Free State over it. But this would have been fatal to the peace of South Africa. Hence, when Nicholas Waterboer, the nominal owner of the region, petitioned Her Majesty to proclaim it British territory, his claim was supported by the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly. A detachment of Cape Frontier Armed and Mounted Police took possession of the dry diggings, and hoisted the Union Jack. The Free State was afterwards paid £90,000 as compensation, which lay a dead-weight on the struggling district until it was taken over by the Cape Colony. At first it was governed by a triumvirate of Commissioners, which was an utter failure. Then an Administrator was appointed, who was not more successful, and finally, after a period of misrule rare in the history of the British Empire, it was turned into a Crown Colony. But, unfortunately, it was a form of government too costly for the resources of the district, and things were no better than before. At last, in despair, Lord Carnarvon sent out Major Lanyon as Commissioner, and despatches to the Cape Ministry, earnestly requesting them to take over the region, which was done in 1878, since when it has been as orderly and prosperous as any other part of South Africa. British Bechuanaland was annexed by Mr. Rhodes.

Though expansion in the Cape Colony is not the result of national feeling, and has developed in her people few of the qualities which the growth of the Dominion has developed in Canadians, sovereignty has not failed to

quicken in her a sense of responsibility. She has a population of 1,526,224, of which 1,150,237 are natives, whose numbers, instead of declining, are steadily increasing. Here, then, is a problem of the first magnitude, and one which the Cape Colony is facing nobly. Her great aim is to break up the tribal organization, and to induce the native to till the soil. To attain her end they are placed on small reservations, governed by resident magistrates, who, however, deal only with civil cases. All criminal offences are punished according to Colonial law. To pay the expense of administration and annuities to the chiefs there is a hut-tax, and each electoral district is represented by white members in the Cape Parliament. Moreover, the natives have the franchise on the £25 house qualification, though so far the number of voters has been very small. The Glen Grey Act is probably destined to solve this pressing problem as well as it can be solved by legislation, providing as it does for overcrowding by the law of primogeniture and a system of allotments; for civic education by the establishment of District Councils; for the control of the drink traffic by local option; and for the maintenance of industrial schools by means of a labour-tax levied on all male natives without distinction. At Herschell, in the Eastern Province, is one of the finest proofs of the Cape Native policy. This district, which is about 800 square miles in extent, contains a mixed population of Fingoes, Kaffirs, and Tambookies, 22,000 strong. It is the best-cultivated portion of the Colony, and in 1880 was kept in order by four constables. There are about 230 Europeans in the district, mostly traders and store-keepers. The chief crops grown are corn and millet, of which thousands of bags are yearly sent to the Orange Free State and various parts of the Cape Colony itself. Herschell is, perhaps, unique, but it must be admitted by every unprejudiced person who studies the question that the Colonials of South Africa have done their share of the Empire's work to the credit of the English name.

New Zealand sovereignty, while an evidence of Imperial

feeling, is little more than nominal. It calls for no national sacrifices, and makes no demands on administrative ability, or, indeed, on statesmanship of any kind. Hence it has no appreciable effect on the character of the people. As might be expected from its geographical position, the only territories dependent on the Colony are islands. Of these the chief are the Chatham Islands, 500 miles to the East; the Auckland Islands, 200 miles to the south; the Campbell, Antipodes, and Bounty Islands, between 200 and 400 miles to the north-east; and the Kermadec Islands, to the north. None of them are settled except the Chatham Islands, with a mixed population of Europeans, Maoris, and Morioris, who are nearly all engaged in stock-rearing and sea-fisheries. In the Auckland Group is Port Ross, described by D'Urville as one of the best harbours of refuge in the world. Here the New Zealand Government maintains a station, in which food and clothes are stored for the use of shipwrecked mariners. But it is in the Cook Archipelago that the Colony takes most pride. These beautiful and salubrious islands are distant from Auckland by steamer about 1,700 miles, and support a population of 9,000. As early as 1864 the leading chiefs petitioned the Queen for British protection, but, with Little Englandism rampant at Downing Street, nothing came of it. During the next twenty years, however, the Church and trade brought the natives more and more in touch with New Zealand, and, in 1885, Makea Takau, Queen of a part of Raratonga, the largest island of the group, visited Auckland to urge its annexation by Great Britain. Sir Robert Stout, the Premier, laid her case before the Home Government with suggestions of his own, and, in 1888, the British flag was hoisted at Raratonga, by Captain Bourke, of H.M.S. *Hyacinth*. New Zealand, which had agreed to hold herself responsible for the government of the islands, appointed Mr. Moss as Resident in 1890, since when they have made large strides towards self-government and prosperity. In concert with native delegates from all the

seven islands which form the archipelago, he drew up a simple Constitution providing for a Federal Parliament to raise a Customs revenue and deal with other national affairs, while leaving local interests entirely in the hands of the native councils. But it was not so easy to choose a chief, a difficulty which was finally overcome by the election of Makea Takau, who is to hold the position for her life. The Federal Parliament consists of twelve members, all laws passed by whom must be approved by the Resident. They meet in a Parliament House built for the purpose about two years ago. There is also a Supreme Court, to which appeal may be made from the petty native courts. The liquor law is prohibitive, except in Raratonga, where all liquor is placed in charge of a public officer, who gives permits for its purchase. No one is allowed to buy more than he requires for his own consumption. In this way drunkenness, which was once common, is now rare. Revenue is raised by a 5 per cent. duty on imports. At first the Federation suffered from the old and bitter jealousies of other days; but when each island discovered that it had perfect freedom in its local affairs, and, moreover, received a small subsidy from the Federal revenue, the way was paved for harmony and united action for a common purpose. As a result, one of the Maori councils recently imposed a road-tax in Raratonga varying in amount according to the frontage of the land owned by each individual. Even more hopeful is the fact that it should be cheerfully paid. The cynical observer might find another sign of the progress of civilization in the passion of the Raratongans for writing letters to their only newspaper. But the question is, Are these islands, morally, socially and politically, the better for New Zealand sovereignty? And as the answer is a most emphatic Yes, no other justification for it is necessary.

In 1897, owing to the lax manner in which the law was administered, it was deemed advisable to transfer Norfolk Island to New South Wales. This place of stately pines lost in the wastes of the Western Pacific is 900 miles distant

from Australia. It has an area of over seven square miles, buttressed by frowning cliffs, against which the southern swell beats endlessly. From 1788 to 1803 it was occupied by convicts who made it blossom like the rose. But in the latter year they were all removed to the mainland by an order from the Home Office. Twenty years later it was again a convict settlement, and a veritable hell on earth. With the end of the transportation system Norfolk Island was given over to desolation, until the descendants of the *Bounty* were transferred to it from Pitcairn Island. Placed under the Governor of New South Wales, it has enjoyed the blessings of a primitive Constitution such as would be impossible in any other part of Her Majesty's dominion. Under the rule of a magistrate and jury of seven elders, it has developed into a flourishing community of 800 persons, all of whom are teetotalers and able to read and write. But the island has outgrown the primitive form of its government, and so, by an Order in Council of 1897, it was made a dependency of New South Wales. The Colonial Office paid £1,500 towards the repairs of public buildings and other expenses incident to the transfer; but as it saves £1,000 a year in the cost of administration, it may be congratulated on a good bargain. The premier Colony was not, however, allowed to annex Norfolk Island without a protest. New Zealand, just for all the world as if she were a jealous foreign Power, considered her own claim to the home of great pines superior to that of New South Wales on various counts. In the first place, it is nearer Maoriland by 300 miles than it is to the Australian coast. In the second place, it is included in the Diocese of Melanesia, ecclesiastically speaking a part of New Zealand, whose inhabitants largely support the Melanesian Mission. In the third place, the Bishop of Melanesia objected to the sovereignty of New South Wales. But, like other States with a soaring ambition, New Zealand had to give way to the State which was first in the field.

Norfolk Island is now governed by a resident magistrate,

appointed by the Colonial Ministry, and by a council of twelve elders.

The Australasian Colonies can hardly be said to exercise sovereign rights over New Guinea, as, politically speaking, Australasia is unknown. It is exactly in the same position as the Dominion before Confederation. But like the Canadas after the Union Act of 1840, they have Imperial dreams, to which, so far as they are able, they give practical expression. One of them is the consolidation of British power in the South Seas. As early as 1864 the idea took root in New South Wales that the possession of New Guinea was necessary to the peace and safety of Australia, and a company was formed in Sydney for the purpose of colonizing it. But the Home Government poured cold water on the scheme, and it was dropped. Nevertheless, the idea grew and strengthened during the next twenty years, until it had become an article of faith with every Colonial Ministry. Between 1864 and 1887 at least twenty exploring expeditions to the island were fitted out by Government or individual enterprise, and in 1874 the Legislature of New South Wales again addressed the Home Government on the question of its annexation, but their views met with no encouragement. Nor was a deputation to Lord Carnarvon in the following year any more successful. In 1878, however, Queensland was permitted to annex Thursday Island and several other small islands in Torres Straits, which is one of Australia's highways to Europe and Asia. Colonial opinion therefore regarded her as possessing a more peculiar interest in New Guinea than any of the other Colonies, so that when, in 1883, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, the Premier, sent a Government boat with a civil officer on board to hoist the English flag at Port Moresby, his action was applauded in every part of Australasia. But, unfortunately, though the designs of France and Germany were known in the South Seas, they were not known at the Colonial Office, and Lord Derby refused to acknowledge the annexation. He ridiculed the

idea that Germany intended to create a Colonial Empire, and explained to a deputation of Agents-General that England already possessed more territory than was at all desirable. A few days later, in the House of Lords, he said that the occupation of New Guinea by any other power would be an unfriendly act, which the Colonies accepted as a declaration that the Mother Country regarded the island as her own. Unhappily, Lord Derby admitted the necessity of the case by permitting Queensland to occupy stations on the shore opposite her own coast with a hinterland, whose boundaries were not delimited. This was quite enough for Germany. The moment she understood that the Colonial Secretary did not claim the whole island beyond Dutch territory, an order was sent to a gunboat in waiting at Melbourne, and a week or two later the flag of the Fatherland was flying over Northern New Guinea. After allowing Germany to steal on her in this easy way, there was nothing for England to do but to proclaim a Protectorate, which was done in 1884. At the Colonial Conference of 1887, an arrangement was made by which Queensland agreed to become responsible for the government of New Guinea, each of the other Colonies to contribute a share of the cost for a period of ten years. All the officials are, however, appointed by the Home Government, though they correspond with the Colonial Office through the Governor of Queensland. With a Federated Australia the island will be governed as a dependency, and it is their consciousness of future possibilities which makes the Colonies so averse to a syndicate supported by the Colonial Office acquiring territorial rights in New Guinea. Australasia does not want to repeat Canada's experience with the Hudson Bay Company.

The latest Colony to acquire sovereignty over territories beyond her own limits is Natal. In 1885 a British Protectorate was proclaimed over Amatongaland, a region between Swaziland and the sea, bounded on the north by the Portuguese possessions, and in the south by Zululand, to

which it was annexed in 1897. A month later they were incorporated with Natal, which thus became mistress of a region 10,000 miles in extent. As the Colonial Office saves several thousands a year in administrative expenses, while Natal has added 200,000 to her already teeming Kaffir population, the gain would seem to be largely on the side of the Home authorities. The Native Problem in this beautiful Colony is more serious than it is in any other of the self-governing Provinces of the Empire. In 1891 more than four-fifths of the inhabitants were Kaffirs, and about 7 per cent. Indian coolies. With the annexation of Amatongaland and Zululand, the relatively small number of Colonials will be more marked than ever. The various tribes live on reservations held in trust by the Government, on the lands of religious missions, on Crown lands, and as tenants on the lands of private persons. An annual hut-tax of 14s. is imposed on each adult Kaffir of the male sex. Justice in civil matters on each reservation is administered by a white magistrate; all criminal offences are tried in the ordinary courts of law. As in Canada, every effort is being made to destroy the tribal organization, and to train the native in the habits of civilized life.

It will thus be seen that without a flourish of trumpets, or poems from the Empire's Poet Laureate, or the encouragement of the Peace Societies, or pæans of praise from a certain section of the English press, the Colonies have taken upon themselves "the White Man's burden." How well they are performing their task is proved by the fact that the world hears nothing about it. As for the average Englishman, he ascribes this satisfactory state of things to the wisdom of the Colonial Office, quite oblivious of the fact that all the great Colonies are *self-governing*. In 1860 the area governed by responsible Ministries was 1,835,647 square miles, with a population of about 3,000,000, which included 100,000 natives; in 1898 it was 7,180,956, with a population of 11,072,472, which included 2,357,362 natives. In other words, two-thirds of the whole area of the

Empire is ruled by Colonial Englishmen, a political fact whose vast importance is recognised only by foreign nations. Great as their responsibilities are, however, it is not their fault that they are not greater. The Dominion, for instance, did all in her power to induce Newfoundland to join the Confederation. The Cinderella of the Colonies foolishly refused, and has since sold herself to a Canadian citizen. As for New Zealand, during the past forty-five years she has seized every chance of pressing the annexation of Samoa on the Home Government, and of extending English influence in the islands. In 1853 Sir George Grey, foreseeing the advent of France and Germany in the Pacific, suggested a Federation of all the South Pacific Islands, with New Zealand as a centre. His plan was laughed to scorn by the Colonial Office, and his warnings as to French designs on New Caledonia disregarded. Somehow, the Colonial Office, which in its wisdom put three big men on a plate as it were, does not laugh now that the china is being broken in their efforts to obtain a footing. In 1872 New Zealand offered to administer the islands, again in 1884, and again in 1894. But she made no more impression on Downing Street than Australia in the matter of New Guinea. South Africa in 1859 was ripe for Confederation, and a scheme was forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle by Sir George Grey, who was then Governor of the Cape Colony. But he was frowned upon by the Home Authorities, and the golden opportunity was lost.

From every point of view it is desirable that the self-governing Provinces of the Empire should take up their share of "the weary Titan's burden," and in the near future a great development in this direction may be expected. For there is no doubt that Colonial Ministries are better able to rule new communities than the Colonial Office, which has seldom shown the necessary ability in administering distant dependencies. How could it be otherwise, when its knowledge of the Empire is purely academic? A Colonial Ministry, on the other hand, is more elastic in its views, and

hampered neither by party issues nor tradition. Moreover, it is more in touch with the people it is called upon to govern, and accustomed to deal with the problems which they present for solution. It treats a question more on its merits than on the particular light in which it will appear to a certain number of gentlemen, whose opinion of it is formed by theory or sentiment. Not that party feeling is absent in the Colonies, but when it conflicts with national ideals it can be more effectually silenced than when it conflicts merely with ideas, as in England. The territories governed by Colonial Ministries may safely challenge comparison with the territories ruled by the Colonial Office. South Africa, after a hundred years of Home Government inconsistency, is plunged into one of the great wars of the century. Could there be a more damaging indictment of our rule? Had Natal and the Cape Colony been in the position of Canada with regard to British Columbia in 1871, they would never have consented to the retrocession of the Transvaal after Majuba Hill; nor can we conceive that they would have quietly permitted a subject State to oppress British subjects, transform itself into a huge arsenal, and lay the foundations of Dutch supremacy in South Africa. The instinct of self-preservation alone would have preserved them from such political imbecility. The West Indies are sunk in despair, out of which they see no escape except in annexation to Canada or the United States. British Honduras would be a disgrace to Spain. British Guiana is not much better. Cyprus is a failure, and Malta can hardly be described as a success. The West African settlements have lost their hinterland, and are by no means as flourishing as they might be. And since these things are so, it is not wonderful that the regions ruled by the Chartered Company absolutely refuse to accept the administration of the Colonial Office, whose chief sin is not of the will, but of its remoteness from the pulsations of Colonial life.

WAS VOHU MANAH PHILO'S LOGOS?

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

IT was with a feeling of very deep mortification indeed that I read such a suggestion as the above from the pen of a serious scholar.* It seemed to me, indeed, so futile, if not so feeble, a hypothesis that it proved too much rather than too little, and showed that the once-gifted pen that repeated it (for it was not original with any distinguished Zendist) had become blunted by popular writing, and that the hand behind it had for the moment lost its cunning. It was written in a whirl of popular literary details, details which left the great writer no time to recover his scattered thoughts, only showing once more that exactness can hardly go on hand-in-hand with a pandering even to refined superficial tastes. Vohu Manah was not Philo's Logos, first, because it was a totally different conception in its nature, and, secondly, because it was extant in a literature hundreds of years before Philo was thought of. It would seem that any schoolboy could have seen that the Logos of Philo, which was, of course, an elaboration of that of Plato, made for a point glaringly in contradiction to a leading Zoroastrian tenet, which was that God, as Ahura, created the heaven and the earth, without any intermediary needed on account of the unholiness of matter. Philo, on the contrary, expands himself in a delineation of the uncanny thing which God could not touch, but needed a logos to bridge the chasm.† If the Logos had any analogon among the *Amesha Spenta*, it would be *Asha*, and not *Vohu Manah*, for *Asha*, as the rhythm of law, was in one light only exactly what Heraclitus, the first conjecturer who made elaborate use of the term, meant by the "Logos."

Asha, as well as *Vohu Manah*, is therefore heterogeneous to, or, as we might better say, from the Platonic concept so fully developed by the ardent Philo. Zoroastrian philosophy knows nothing about an inherent impurity in all matter, though it was the first philosophy which emphasized the original and eternal separateness between a good and an evil creation. Heraclitus himself never stated his hypothesis of an eternal "war" more firmly than did Zarathushtra in Yasna xlv. 2. And as Heraclitus at Ephesus was a near neighbour to a Zoroastrian theology, we may well hesitate before we deny that the great dualist of Asia Minor got his leading hints from the man who composed the Gāthas or from the same original.‡

* Any person familiar with Zend philology knows to what this refers. I avoid names from a sense of delicacy.

† Matter was something "confused," "undetermined," or "undefined." God could not come into contact with impure matter. Therefore, bodiless powers were used by Him, the actual names of which were "the ideas" ("De Vict. Off.," xi. 261).

The powers of God (conceived of as in a sense separated from Him) were in general intermediaries; but this doctrine finally culminated in that of the Logos as the summing up of the powers (Heinze, "Lehre vom Logos," 72, s. 215. He, the Logos, was the "organon" through which the Kosmos was formed ("De Cherub.," i. 162; "Leg. Alleg.," iii. 1, 106, H. 217).

‡ Though he differed from the Gāthic sage on no less an item than the existence of a supreme effective God as a universal creator.

Plato (at Athens) came into contact with Cratylus, the pupil of Heraclitus (Plato, I think, being a young man at the time), and it is more than probable that those interviews and conferences first aroused in the Athenian that grand if erroneous surmise which bridged for him the separation between a God untainted with "existence" and the poor struggling world (kosmos); but in formulating a dualism between God and nature Plato departed from that dualism which recognised a strife in Nature without condemning both sides at once as being each so inherently impure as to need an intermediary between both and each of them and the Supreme Abstraction. The Platonian-Philonian Logos had nothing to do with either the *Asha* or the *Vohu Manah* of Zoroaster, because the two ideas had each one element in itself irreconcilable with a chief element in the other, although both were attributes or quasi-attributes of a concept which served each thinker as a supreme Deity.

But, secondly, neither *Vohu Manah* nor *Asha* could have been the Logos of Philo, because both were familiar ideas in a well-known literature hundreds of years before Philo existed, or Plato either, for the matter of that; and it is amazing that any man of reputation could have penned such a thought as the one refuted without at least calling attention to some of the patent facts. *Vohu Manah* as the name of a Vedic Rishi was somewhat late, for the hymn in connection with which his name stands was not a very early one (relatively considered) as a part of the Rig Veda, but the occurrence of the word *Vasumanas* (*Vohu Manah*) as a proper name* shows that the idea was very familiar to the people of the Vedic period, as do also the synonymous or analogous terms† which occur in the same early lore.

But the companion ideas, *Asha*, *Khshathra*, *Aramaiti*, *Haurvatāt*, and *Ameretatāt*, are very familiar in old Vedic, occurring in the most ancient pieces which have survived to human memory. Their forms are *ṛtā* (*asha*), *kshatrā*, *ardmati*, *sárvatātī* and *amrtatvā*. They are scattered in the Veda, but collected in the Avesta. To imagine that any of these venerable concepts, which had their firm existence in the earliest records of our race, were invented by either Philo or Plato, or even by Heraclitus, is simply absurd. And I am confident that no one who ever said they were so invented had ever given a sober thought to the subject or an hour's investigation amid the proper sources of information. It is deplorable that in the legitimate search for what is new, respected scholars should wish to bring themselves into undesirable prominence by venturing upon revolutionary propositions which are pseudo in their character. Surely there is enough that we can say that is new in a science, the very materials of which have notoriously never yet been completely exploited in all their parts, without stultifying ourselves by such a hazard as to say that "*Vohu Manah* was Philo's Logos."

Oxford.

* R.V., x. 179. 3. (Not mentioned in the text, but by Sāyana. He was, in fact, the reputed author of but a single line.)

† Such as *sumanas*, *sumati*, etc.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

LET us begin by bringing to the notice of our readers several works which are about to be published, and which we have several times had occasion to mention. In the first place, the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," edited by the Abbé Vigouroux, of which the sixteenth fascicule (Fontaine-Gazer) has recently appeared;* the first and second volumes of this important collection are now complete. The seventh volume of the third edition of the "Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," edited by Hauck,† comprises articles from *Gottesdienst* to *Hess*, and proves the regularity and rapidity with which this remarkable work is being proceeded with. The same cannot, unfortunately, be said of the "Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch," by Muss-Arnolt, of which the ninth number has been published,‡ the preceding number having been issued nearly a year ago. It will be remembered that this dictionary has been in course of publication since 1894!

The "Recueil d'archéologie orientale," by Clermont-Ganneau, is now completed, the last numbers of Vol. III. having been published,§ in which there is an interesting article on El-Kahf and the cave of the "Seven Sleepers" (the well-known legend of the sleepers of Ephesus), accompanied by explanatory figures and plans. The third and last volume of the "Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique," by Maspero, is also completed.|| It extends from the Assyrian revival (Assurnazirabal, 885-860, and Salmanasar III., 860-825) to the Persian conquest (Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius) and the end of the old Eastern world (Median wars, the last national dynasties of Egypt, and the Oriental world at the time of the Macedonian conquest). This notable work by one of the masters of Eastern science is of extreme importance, and forms a kind of historical encyclopædia of the classical ancient East (Egypt, Syria, Chaldea, Assyria, Persia). Nothing could be richer or more varied than its contents. The erudition is very extensive and the information trustworthy; but the method of explaining and the editing appear defective. In order to display before the reader the simultaneous destinies of different peoples of the East in a single tableau, one often has to sacrifice clearness in so complicated a subject. We notice finally, amongst general works, the German translation of the late Dr. Robertson Smith's remarkable book on the religion of the Semites.¶

* Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1899.

† Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

‡ Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

§ Paris, Leroux, 1899.

|| Paris, Hachette, 1900.

¶ "Die Religion der Semiten," übers. von Stübe. Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

THE OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL,
APOCRYPHAS, ETC.

A new volume of "La sainte Bible polyglotte" (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French) has appeared, edited by the Abbé Vigouroux. It contains the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.* As we remarked in our last report, this publication is serviceable, but we cannot refrain from criticising some strange statements which it contains. On page 1025, in a note upon the longevity of the patriarchs, there is the astounding assertion that "there are still sometimes to be found examples, sufficiently authenticated, of people who have much exceeded the ordinary term of life, and have lived from 150 to 200 years." It is really to be regretted that the author has omitted the sources from which he has taken such extraordinary information!

Among the works on the Old Testament we may quote the interesting commentary of Kittel upon the Book of Kings† appearing in the Nowack Collection ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament").

• The remarkable work by W. St. Chad Boscawen on "The Bible and the Monuments" has been translated into French by C. de Faye.‡ This book possesses great merit, although one could dispute various doubtful interpretations of texts or facts (for instance, the relationship established by the author between Mount Sinai and the lunar god Sin). Indeed, the author not only thoroughly knows his subject, the archæological and linguistic riches of which he unfolds with enthusiasm, but he also fully grasps the spirit of it.

He draws attention to one of the most characteristic traits of the Semitic race when he affirms that the Semitic peoples patronize the customs as well as the language of those that surround them. The entire history of Israel is a striking example of this essential character. That is why the author has been able to write a popular volume full of interest upon the very numerous and very intimate analogies between the Bible and the monuments of Babylonian Assyria.

Another popular and scientific work to be noticed and recommended is the last edition of the manual for acquiring a knowledge of the Old Testament, by Köstlin.§ The Italian review of Orientalism *Bessarione* (Nos. 41, 42, Rome, 1899) has commenced the publication of an interesting study by G. Gabrieli on the Semitic sources of a legend respecting Solomon, the *Kebra Nagasht* (biblical sources, Joseph, Rabbis.)

We now turn to the Apocryphas, and must first welcome the completion of the great publication by Kautzsch on the Apocryphas and Pseudepigraphs of the Old Testament, the last numbers of which (29-34) have appeared.|| They contain the fourth book of Esdras, the Apocalypses of

* Paris, Roger et Chernoviz, 1900.

† "Die Bücher der Könige." Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

‡ Paris, Fischbacher, 1900 (with 24 photo-gravures).

§ "Leitfaden zum Unterricht im Alten Testament für höhere Schulen," third edition. Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

|| Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

Baruch, the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, and the life of Adam and Eve. Ecclesiasticus continues to give rise to much critical and exegetical literature. We quote the following among those which have appeared on this subject: König has endeavoured to show the originality of the Hebrew text, lately discovered, of the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach;* Nöldeke (*Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, vol. i., 1900) has introduced some remarks on the Hebrew of Ben Sira. Finally, in the *Revue biblique internationale* (a Dominican Catholic publication)† Touzard has commenced an investigation on the new Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus.

Professor Basset, in his interesting Ethiopian Apocrypha series (No. X.), has published "La Sagesse de Sibylle."‡ The Ghééz version of this work, unpublished, and translated for the first time, is of rather recent date, and is derived from a lost Arabic translation; at the British Museum and elsewhere there are several manuscripts of this text. The original of this Apocrypha appears to be Syriac. From this Syriac original, from which a lost Armenian translation was made, are derived the Arabic versions (two in number),§ Ethiopian and Carchonian (Arabic in Syriac characters) which are in our possession. The contents of this apocrypha would indicate its date to be towards the middle of the thirteenth century (1247-1250). Basset prefaces the Ethiopian translation with a very instructive and clear introduction, and ends with a translation of the two Arabic versions (of the Bibliothèque nationale) of the Sibylle of Tibur (according to the edition of Sackur), and some chapters on the end of the world from the "Perle des merveilles," by Ibn el Ouardi.

By putting the texts together, one can thus compare the Christian and Mussulman apocryphal traditions, and explain the influence which the former exercised over the latter. Professor Basset is to be congratulated on his successful efforts.

The publication (text and translation) of the Talmud of Babylon by L. Goldschmidt continues; the second part of the treatise "Erubin" has appeared.|| One cannot give too much encouragement for the completion of this important series.

In terminating the Hebrew part of this report we must point out a new book by N. Slouchz: "Emile Zola, sa vie, son œuvre," written in Hebrew.¶ Zola, by the prominent part he played in the Dreyfus affair, could not but stir up enthusiasm and sympathy amongst the Israelites. The work, which Slouchz dedicates to him, is a fresh proof of it. It is divided into three parts: the man, the author, his works. After having related the life of Zola, the author describes the writer from a literary, philosophical, and psychological point of view. There is an interesting chapter where the author establishes a parallel, which is not without grandeur or truth, between Zola and the prophets.

* "Die Originalität des Hebr. Sirach textes." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

† Paris, Lecoivre, 1900, No. 1.

‡ Paris, Bibliothèque de la haute science, 1900.

§ The two different versions of the Arabic translation from which the Ghééz text is derived.

|| Berlin, Calvary, 1899.

¶ אמיל זולא. Warschau, verlag Tuschijah, 1899.

The book finishes with a short analysis of every book published by the celebrated novelist. Slouchz writes Hebrew admirably. From a perusal of his writings, we are surprised at the facility and elegance in which the ancient Biblical language appears; he is a master of this forcible language, of which the Old Testament presents so many admirable pages.

ISLAMISM AND ARABIC LITERATURE.

A new translation of the "Thousand and One Nights" has begun to appear in French, three volumes of which I have before me.* This translation, which will consist of a considerable number of volumes, is due to an enthusiastic admirer of the famous collection of Arab stories, Dr. Mardrus. The work is well got up, but the author claims perfect literality, more so than even Burton, and has fallen, in this respect, into exaggeration. It is, in fact, a useless literality, and rather ridiculous to translate, as, for instance, "The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night," or "she threw her soul into the water." One knows that the Arab employs certain words (soul, etc.) with the pronominal suffix in place of the personal pronoun ("she threw herself into the water"). Also: "He drank at the eye of a running stream"; the word *eye* in Arabic means also source, etc. The author also pays particular attention to detail in his translation of delicate passages in the Arabic text; literality is here transformed into an analysis of the original, which savours somewhat of the indecent expressions of the text. He should have been satisfied with being exact without running the risk of being accused of obscenity.

Apropos of the "Thousand and One Nights," we may mention an interesting work on folklore by Chauvin, entitled "Mahmud," or the Legend of the Barber Assassin.† In this work there is a very true observation: "An event which has happened everywhere (like the story of Mahmud) has probably happened nowhere, and one finds in it inventions of the nature of the ritual of manslaughter or the poisoning of wells, which had the result of stirring up an ignorant and cruel people against certain persecuted races, such as the Christians or the Jews."

In the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (vol. i., 1900) may be noticed a very short article by Goldziher on the שמטנו (Deut. xxii. 11; Lev. xix. 19)—that is to say, on the mixture of tissues (wool and flax) in one and the same dress. It is proved that the Arabian authors had a knowledge of magical practices obtained by an identical mixture of similar products (wool and cotton), the one of animal and the other of vegetable origin.

We have reserved our conclusion for the mention of an important work on "L'Islam dans L'Afrique occidentale," by A. Le Chatelier,‡ to which we desire to draw our readers' particular attention. This remarkable work of Le Chatelier, the materials of which were gathered on the spot by the author in the course of his travels in Senegal, Gambia, Sudan, etc., is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the countries (land and soil), the inhabitants (the different races and their history), their creeds

* Paris, éditions de la *Revue Blanche*, 1899-1900.

† Wallonia, Liège (January 13, 1900).

‡ Paris, Steinheil, 1899.

(the coming of Islam, and its conquests before the modern period), of Western Africa (Songhai, Berbers, Arabs, Sudanese races, Jews). The author has devoted special attention to the Mandés, and, above all, to the Peuls. Several well-got-up maps of the Mandé and Peul countries, and the propagation of Islam by migrations, help us to follow the text more easily and to discriminate amongst the mass of matter quoted. The second part relates to the revival and the propagation of Islam in the same countries in modern times. We there read the very captivating history of El Hadj Omar, the surprising epopee of Samory, not to speak of other less illustrious chiefs whose power was considerable.

In conclusion, the author tells us of the actual state of Islam (the repartition of Mussulmans, local characters of religious influences, rites and doctrines, the future of Sudanese Islam). Several maps serve to enrich and explain the two latter parts, which end with a lengthy bibliography and an analytical index.

Le Chatelier's work is the history of the conquests of Islam in Western Africa. It is enriched with documents, and is written with the greatest impartiality. The author points out the colossal power of Islam; he endeavours to discover its causes and its *raison d'être*. He does not conceal the drawbacks of Christian missionary work, and enters into the numerous considerations and conclusions from the French political standpoint, which we cannot discuss here. He believes in the future of Sudanese Islam, and explains what steps should be taken to limit its propagation. The author is quite right in laying stress on the great force given to Islam by its language—the Arabic—and on the commercial power it possesses. To sum up, Le Chatelier's work is to be warmly recommended to those who study Islam in its actual advance. It is a book full of facts, and written in good faith. One cannot say this of all publications which appear on Islam.

In conclusion we announce a very interesting article by Douffé on the Marabouts ("Notes sur l'Islam maghribin") which appeared in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (November-December, 1899).

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS.

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VOL. II.: DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA, TRANSLATED FROM THE
PALI BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.S.C. (RETD.).

THIS is a further instalment of translations of the vast collection of Buddhist religious works, an immense undertaking which nothing but extreme zeal and interest in the subject could induce any European scholar to undertake. Thirteen Suttantas are here translated, the endless repetitions which render Buddhist literature so repulsive and wearisome being omitted, and each text being provided with a learned introduction and copious notes. In a preface are contained valuable notes on the probable age of the dialogues. While in a field hitherto, in comparison of its vastness, so little worked, much must still remain undecided, the learned translator, however, has given all the evidence available for establishing what he modestly calls a "working hypothesis," which further researches may either confirm or modify. The *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*, as these dialogues are called in Pali, are proved to be older than *Milinda*, which was written in Northern India about the time of the Christian era. They are older than the *Kathā Vatthu*, written at Patna in the middle of the third century B.C. They are older than inscriptions of the same century. They are older than Asoka. There is even fairly good reason for assuming that they are as old as the fifth or sixth century B.C., which brings them up to the period immediately following the death of the Buddha.

As usual in Indian teaching in schools of every kind, the instruction imparted by the Buddha took the form of *sūtras*, or aphorisms, short sentences intended to serve as a *memoria technica*, while their full meaning was to be developed either by oral instruction or by written commentaries. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand, not only the form and arrangement, but also the subjects of these discourses. They range over a wide area, including moral teaching, the ascetic life, caste, the claims and position of Brahmans, and many other points of minor interest. As in other Buddhist texts, there are many curious and interesting allusions which throw light on the habits and customs of the people of India in those distant times, though from the nature of the subjects treated there is perhaps less information of this kind than is found in the *Jātakas*. The notes throughout are a mine of information, and the whole work is well worthy of the reputation of the learned translator and editor.

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* Published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

DESCENDANTS OF OLIVER CROMWELL IN CALCUTTA.—PART I.

BY C. R. WILSON, M.A.,
Principal of Patna College.

JOHN RUSSELL, GOVERNOR, 1711-1713.

1. AFTER all that has been recently told us about the great Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and his family, an interesting chapter still remains to be written on his descendants in Calcutta, for such there were in the first half of the eighteenth century.

These offshoots of the Protectoral tree were all sprung from Frances, the youngest daughter of the house, a lady, it would seem, of singular attraction, and rich in suitors. At one time His Majesty Charles II. solicited her hand in marriage through the Earl of Orrery, as a happy conclusion to the contention between King and Parliament, but Cromwell after some hesitation refused him as being too "damnably debauched." At another time Cromwell surprised his chaplain, Master Jeremy, while on his knees before the Lady Frances, kissing her hand, from which it appeared that it was high time that she was married and settled. The choice seemed to lie between the Prince of Condé and the young and wealthy John Dutton, who had actually been bequeathed to Frances by his uncle. The lady herself preferred Robert Rich, the grandson of the Earl of Warwick, who, however, died soon after his marriage. She now took as her second husband Sir John Russell, the representative of an ancient and honourable family, and grandson of Sir William Russell of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, created first baronet in 1629. It is the story of the children of this marriage which brings us to Calcutta in the early half of the eighteenth century.

2. Passing by William, the eldest son and fifth baronet,

of whose children something may be said at another time, I come at once to John, the last and posthumous son, born in London on October 4, 1670. On November 22, 1693, John Russell was elected a factor for the East India Company, and in this capacity arrived in Bengal on December 3, 1694. On December 17, 1697, he married his wife Rebecca, sister of Sir Charles Eyre, the then Governor of Calcutta, by whom he had one son and three daughters.

In 1704, in consequence of the arrangements made upon the union of the two rival East India Companies, the line of Calcutta governors was for some years interrupted; and the management of the English affairs in Bengal was placed in the hands of a Council of eight, with two chairmen, one to represent the old and one the new Company. Of this Council John Russell was appointed the fourth member, but on the death of Ralph Sheldon in April, 1709, he succeeded as Chairman for the old Company. The Chairmen presided over the Council in alternate weeks, but this division of responsibility robbed them of all authority, and the "rotation government," on account of its incessant quarrels and disputes, became the laughing-stock of all India. At last, in November, 1709, the Court of Directors in London resolved to abolish the system of dual management, and appointed Captain Anthony Weltden President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal. On July 20, 1710, Russell, in conjunction with Abraham Addams, the Chairman of the new Company, made over the government of Calcutta to the new Chief. The doings of Anthony Weltden—how in the earlier part of his career he precipitated a massacre on the English in Siam, and narrowly escaped being killed himself; how at this time he took bribes wholesale in Calcutta, and on his way home fell a prize to the French—are another story. His rule in Bengal was short. One Court of Directors, considering that the government of Fort William required fresh blood, appointed him—an utter outsider—President; another

Court, desiring to give all reasonable encouragement to their old and faithful servants, revoked his commission, and made Ralph Sheldon, of whose death they had not heard, chief, and John Russell second in Bengal. Thus, after a brief rule of seven and a half months, Weltden was deposed, and in March, 1711, John Russell became Governor of Calcutta by right of seniority.

In attempting to form any estimate of his three years of rule, we may conveniently pass in review first of all his relations with what were then called the Country Powers; secondly, his one act of spirited foreign policy, the Maldivé expedition; thirdly, his attitude towards the French during the war—a somewhat small matter; and lastly, his management of the internal affairs and commerce of the Company.

3. At the beginning of Russell's government, Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moguls for whom we can feel any respect, still sat on the Imperial throne. The province of Bengal, ruled nominally by Prince Azim-ush-shan, was really in the hands of the able but unscrupulous Murshid Quli Khan. But the officer in immediate connection with Calcutta was the Admiral and Governor of Hugli, Zea-ud-din Khan, the sole surviving representative of an old family of Mogul officials, who was extremely well disposed to the English.

The changes which followed during the years that Russell held office were in almost every case unfavourable to the interests of the English Company, and, indeed, of any kind of peaceful pursuit. At the request of the jealous Murshid Quli, Zea-ud-din Khan was turned out of his independent government of Hugli in September, 1711. In March, 1712, India was convulsed by the news of the death of Bahadur Shah. The usual family struggles followed. At first Jahandar, the Axe,* contrived to defeat and kill his three brothers, and seat himself on the peacock throne. But at the same time Farrukh-siyar, the son of

* From the English records it appears that on account of his cruelty Jahandar was popularly called *Kalharra*, the Axe.

Azim-ush-shan proclaimed himself King at Patna, and with the assistance of the two Sayyad brothers and the extorted wealth of Bengal raised a great army. At Christmas, 1712, he met and overthrew Jahandar near Agra, and the new year saw him established at Delhi.

Russell's attitude towards the contending powers was one of simple opportunism. It mattered nothing to him whether Tweedledum or Tweedledee sat on the throne so long as he could purchase piece goods at reasonable rates, and convey saltpetre from Patna to Calcutta in safety. Unfortunately this was just what the local authorities would not allow. They took advantage of the unsettled state of the country to demand various aids and benevolences, which the English merchants were most unwilling to give. Something had to be paid to secure the goodwill of the greedy Murshid Quli—something, too, to supply the necessities of the aspiring Farrukh-siyar; but, on the whole, the English under Russell did far better than the Dutch, who lost all their property in Bihar on the death of their agent, Jacob van Hoorn.*

4. At one time, towards the end of the year 1712, the action of Zea-ud-din Khan made an opportunist attitude a little difficult. The nephew of one of Aurangzeb's viziers, and sole surviving representative of a great family, was not likely to quietly accept his dismissal from his office of High Admiral. Instead of withdrawing from Bengal, he remained at Hugli, and raised a large force of armed men. He avowed himself a strong partisan of Azim-ush-shan and Farrukh-siyar, and in July, 1712, was "ready to come to battle" with Murshid Quli's representative, Wali Beg, who besought the English to come to his assistance. The English, however, declared that they were merchants, and could not concern themselves with such matters. Yet, later on in the year, Russell twice attempted to mediate between the two parties, though without success; and the

* The tomb of Jacob van Hoorn is still to be seen in the old Dutch Cemetery at Karinga, Chapra, with the inscription, "I. V. H., Obiit 26 Junij, A.D. 1712."

quarrel was not ended till April, 1713, when Zea-ud-din informed the English that he had been appointed treasurer of the western country near the coast of Coromandel. So the English made him a present to the value of Rs. 1,200, and lent him two small barges, and in June he took his departure to Patna.

5. In the latter half of the year 1712, Calcutta was honoured by the presence of two Embassies, which halted there on their way to the Mogul's Court. The King of Pegu's Ambassador arrived on August 23, under a salute of thirty-one guns. "A week later news was brought that the Persian Ambassador had arrived in the river on a Dutch ship. The Company's Persian writer was sent to wait on him with a letter of congratulation, and the junior members of the Council met him at a distance of twelve miles from Calcutta. When he reached Govindpur,* Governor Russell himself went off and attended him from thence up the river to the Fort,† where he was entertained with great respect. He was afterwards conducted to a house prepared for him in the town, and provisions were ordered for him and his attendants. On the morning of September 3, "the Persian Ambassador sent for the Governor and Council to dine with him, and acquainted them that he kindly accepted of the provision which was made for him yesterday, but would no longer be at the Company's charge." The next day the Ambassador dined with Governor Russell and the Council at Fort William. He asked Russell's advice about proceeding to Hugli while it was disturbed by the dispute between Zea-ud-din and Wali Beg, and was advised to wait in Calcutta for the present. So the Persian Ambassador stayed for nearly three months in Calcutta, and did not leave for Hugli till November 18. On this occasion the English merchants made him a present "in cloth and rarities" to the amount

* Govindpur was the southernmost of the three villages which made up Calcutta, and occupied part of the site of the present Fort William.

† The old Fort William stood in the heart of Calcutta, and not in the south part of it, where the present Fort is.

of about Rs. 15,000, which he evidently appreciated, for in April, 1713, when about to leave Hugli for Delhi, he asked the English to send him "one piece of black cloth, fifteen covids of fine lace, three fine hats, one black and the other two white, and a black periwig." In return for these courtesies the Ambassador promised to do his utmost at Delhi for his Calcutta friends, and he carried with him a letter from Russell to the Emperor setting forth the English grievances.

The relations thus established by Russell with the Country Powers gave entire satisfaction to the Court of Directors, who held that it could never be amiss "to carry it fair with both parties," and, "when it can be done so as not to be discovered, to make them apprehend that you are always ready to do them service when in your power." And such they declared was the policy of Sir Charles Eyre, Russell's brother-in-law, who "did his business by good words and good correspondence, and rarely paid a penny for it." But the policy of fair words and opportunism seems hardly worthy of a grandson of the great Oliver, and I cannot, without shame, read the letter of John Russell of England to the Emperor Jahandar in which John Russell is described as "the smallest grain of sand," and his forehead as "the tip of the footstool of the Mogul," while the cruellest and most worthless of tyrants is styled "the prop of the universe, the conqueror of the world, the hereditary support of justice, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus."

6. The dealings of the English with the Maldivé Islands at the beginning of Russell's administration seem more in accordance with the spirit of his grandfather. The story is obscure, as all mention of the matter was deliberately suppressed; but it appears that about the beginning of the year 1711 the common fate of Oriental dynasties overtook Sultan Ibrāhim Mulhir-ud-din, the King of the Maldivé Islands. He had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he found that a subject, Muhammad Ismad-

ud-din, had usurped the throne and would not even let him set his foot on the Jessamine-scented island of Male, where the Maldivé Sultans resided. Coming to Bengal, Sultan Ibrahim applied first to the Dutch, and afterwards to the English, to help him to recover his throne. The Dutch refused to meddle with the business. But the English first of all sent a Mr. March with ships and soldiers to restore him; and when these failed in December, 1711, they sent three other ships with 110 men and Captain Gordon. John Calvert, the fifth in the Council, went as General with the second expedition. He was to receive Rs. 10,000 if he succeeded, and the English were promised the sole trade of the islands. But Calvert died, and the second expedition failed like the first. In spite of the secrecy with which these two expeditions were conducted, accounts were brought home to the Court of Directors by some of the ships' captains, and the matter became a serious ground of complaint against Russell.

7. The spirit of Cromwell flashes out, but only for a moment, in Russell's dealings with the French. At this time the war of the Spanish Succession was drawing to a close. The saltpetre from Patna, which helped to win the decisive victory of Blenheim, was still being burnt in numerous futile engagements; but a Tory Government was now in office, and the end of these things was certainly not far off. Yet these changes were hardly felt in India, where the English were far more jealous of their Dutch friends than of their French enemies. The struggle had not yet extended to the land, as it did forty years later, but was confined to the sea. Here and there an English ship was captured by the enemy, and from time to time the alarm was raised in Calcutta that the French were haunting the coast. But, beyond this, the war gave the English in Bengal very little trouble. The most serious shock was felt just as the war was nearly over. In 1712, when negotiations for peace were actually in progress at Utrecht, the celebrated quarrel between the footmen of Count

Rechteren and Monsieur Mesnager not only "held all the affairs of Europe in suspense," but lost the East India Company at least two more ships. In April the *Sherborne*, on her voyage from Calcutta to London, with the late Governor Weltden and his family on board, was met near the Cape by three privateers from Toulon, to whom she fell an easy prey. In September the same three ships appeared in the Bay of Bengal, and caused much anxiety. At this juncture Russell proposed to take vigorous action. He offered to fit out a squadron of six ships in conjunction with the Dutch "to clear these parts of the French"; and if this had been done we can hardly doubt that the losses of the English would have been more than repaired. But the Dutch refused to co-operate, and the proposal fell through. Meanwhile, the *Marlborough*, on her way from Madras to Calcutta, had fallen in with the Frenchmen and barely escaped after a hard fight; while a little galley which had been sent out to warn the other ships was herself surprised and taken. The Court of Directors presented the captain of the *Marlborough* with a medal, but they complained to Russell about the loss of the galley, for which they were unwilling to pay.

8. But although the Court of Directors were in no case pleased with Russell's few efforts after a spirited foreign policy, it was his internal administration of the Company's affairs in Bengal which met with their strongest condemnation. They complained bitterly that he mismanaged the Company's shipping, that he took no trouble to provide freight voyages for the Company's vessels while in India, that the goods purchased for the annual investment were badly selected and badly packed, that he left everything to his Indian broker, who was a villain, and that he allowed expenses to grow prodigiously, while the revenues of the settlement remained stationary.

A good deal could be said in defence of Russell under each and all of these heads. Thus, as regards the revenues of Calcutta, it may be pointed out that though Russell did

not see his way to take the particular steps recommended by the Court of Directors, yet he brought about a most substantial improvement by placing the management of the office of the Collector of Calcutta in the hands of Henry Moore,* whose long years of faithful service justified the wisdom of the choice. As regards the much-abused Indian broker, it may be pointed out that subsequent experience showed that the accusations of the Court were unfounded, and that no better man could be found for the post.

On the other hand, if there was some slackness in Russell's general management of the Company's affairs, this can hardly be wondered at when we remember the unbroken length of his service in India, and his flagging energies. To this, undoubtedly, must be ascribed the fact that John Russell did very little for the health or safety of Calcutta. In the Fort he merely finished off the buildings which his predecessors had begun; but he made no effort to enclose the place with a properly constructed moat and earthworks. The Court of Directors frequently suggested large schemes for the improvement of the settlement, such as the digging of a great ditch all round the town, the building of a new dock and a large warehouse for general use. But Russell had no mind for such schemes. Thus Calcutta was left for the next fifty years with a fort which was really no fort, which made "a very pompous show to the waterside by high turrets of lofty buildings," but had "no real strength or power of defence."

9. For three years the Court of Directors remonstrated with Russell, and complained of his mismanagement. At last, in January, 1714, they wrote to Bengal to say that they had dismissed him from his office of President, and had appointed Robert Hedges to succeed him. As it

* The Collector or Zemindar of Calcutta was always, till the days of Holwell, a member of the Council. He had under him a deputy or "Black Zemindar," who did the real work. Henry Moore seems to have been the only honest Black Zemindar during the whole of this early period.

happened, these orders were unnecessary. During the whole of his government, Russell had been in failing health, and, during the last two years, 1712, 1713, he had been frequently absent from Calcutta, which probably accounts for the opportunist dealings of his government with the Country Powers. In March, 1712, he went down the river on the *Mary Buoyer* in the hope of recovering strength ; but the benefit, if any, could only have been temporary, for, at the beginning of 1713, it is recorded that Russell had then been for several months very much indisposed, and that the doctors declared that his only chance of recovery was to go up the river. Russell accordingly made over the charge of his duties to Robert Hedges, and went up to Nadia, accompanied by Richard Harvey, the surgeon of the *Recovery*, and by Captain Woodville, with a guard of fifty soldiers. In February Russell returned, and was apparently so satisfied with the treatment, that he had Harvey appointed doctor to the settlement to replace James, who had gone to England. But in a few days he had a relapse, and was again ordered away out of the bad air of Calcutta.

On April 14 his wife Rebecca, to whom he had been married for more than fifteen years, died at Chandarnagar, and was the next day buried in Calcutta. Russell, it would seem, was too unwell to attend the funeral, for he did not himself return from Chandarnagar till May 29. Left thus a widower, with three young children to care for and educate, Russell struggled on in great mental and bodily affliction through the steaming months of the hot season of Lower Bengal till, at the end of the year, the departure of the Company's shipping brought him his release. In the autumn, he seems to have spent a good deal of time on the river, going about from ship to ship. In the log of the *Cardigan* we catch glimpses of him as he passes by under a salute of twenty-one guns to dine on the *Somers* or sup on the *Marlborough*, on which he was to take his passage home. At length, on Thursday, December 3, 1713,

"having already committed the Company's cash and all under his charge to the care of Robert Hedges, Esq., and not being charged with any debt in the Company's books," he resigned "his station, leaving Mr. Hedges to succeed as President possessed of that station agreeable to the Company's orders." As the *Cardigan* lay at anchor opposite the Fort, her captain, who seems to have been ready to burn powder on every possible occasion, manned the yards of his ship, and fired twenty-one guns when Russell delivered up his commission, and twenty-one more when he went into his boat. On Wednesday the 9th the *Marlborough* sailed from the Sand Heads, and Russell saw the last of the flat shores of Bengal. On the 22nd the ship reached Madras, where they stayed a month. Early in April they touched at the Cape, and Governor Russell went ashore, and returned after a week's stay, each time under a salute of eleven guns. In August, 1714, Russell with his three children reached England.

10. A year later, on September 7, 1715, John Russell, of Duke Street, St. James, Westminster, married Joanna,* sole daughter and heiress of John Thurban, of Chequers Court and Alsborough, Buckinghamshire. Though only forty-five years old, the climate of India had left him no strength for active work, and so after a life of twenty years spent in retirement, he died at Bath on December 5, 1735.

By his second wife John Russell had only one child, Ann, who died an infant. Of his children by his first wife, Mary and Elizabeth,† the two younger girls, returned to India in 1728, where they were married, Mary to Josiah Holmes, and Elizabeth to Samuel Greenhill. The eldest daughter,

* Her first husband, Colonel Edmund Revett, was killed at the Battle of Malplaquet.

† Mary was born on August 6, 1701, in Calcutta; married Josiah Holmes on November 13, 1728, and died without issue at Cassimbazar on August 30, 1732. Elizabeth was born on July 20, 1704, and married Samuel Greenhill of the Company's service on September 18, 1728. Her children lived to represent the family in England.

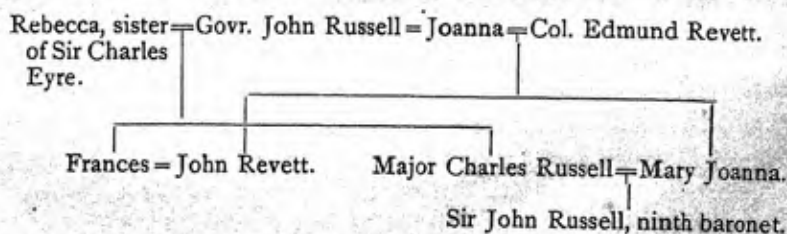
Frances,* remained in England and became bed-chamber woman to the Princess Amelia. Of her the following anecdote is told. Once, on January 30, when she was adjusting the Princess's dress, the Prince of Wales, coming into the room, foolishly said: "Ah, Miss Russell, are you not at Church to endeavour to avert the judgment of Heaven from falling upon the nation for the sins of your ancestor Oliver?" To which she replied with spirit: "Is it not humiliation sufficient for a descendant of the great Cromwell to be pinning up your sister's tail?"

Charles,† his only son and heir, entered the army, and greatly distinguished himself in command of a battalion at Dettingen and Fontenoy. While at Minorca, as Colonel of the 34th Foot, he fell ill, and returning home, died in London on November 20, 1754. He lies buried at Kew, in the tomb of his uncle, Sir Charles Eyre.

The tomb may still be seen on the north-east side of the church, to which position it was moved in 1884, when the east end was enlarged. At one end is a shield with the arms of Eyre, and at the other a shield parti per pale with arms of Eyre and Carey, the family of Sir Charles Eyre's second wife. The inscription to the memory of Sir Charles

* Frances was born on January 6, 1700. She married John Revett, only son of Colonel Edmund Revett and Joanna, who afterwards married Governor John Russell. John Revett died in 1763 and Frances in 1775 without issue; consequently the Chequers estate passed to Charles and Mary Russell.

† Charles was born or baptized on January 8, 1701. He married Mary Joanna, the daughter of Colonel Edmund Revett and Joanna, who afterwards married Governor John Russell. Their children were Mary, who died unmarried, and John, who succeeded as ninth baronet. The complicated relations between the Russells and the Revetts may be shown thus:



Eyre and his second wife, on the north side of the tomb runs as follows :

Under this Monument
Lyeth interred the Body of
SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.,
Who for several years was Governor
of Fort William in Bengal,
Which office of Great Trust He discharged with the utmost
Skill and Fidelity to the Entire Satisfaction of the East India Company.
He Lived in this Hamlet upwards of 28 Years,
And Died September the 26th, 1729, in the 69th year of his age.
He was a Gentleman of truly Virtuous and Just character,
A liberal Benefactor to this CHAPPEL and Particularly Concerned
in the Erecting of it.
At his Death He Bequeathed Considerable Legacies to the Poor
towards their Cloathing and Education.

Also Here Lyeth the Body of LADY EYRE, Widow and Relict
of the Above SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.
She died the 16th January, 1735, in the 56th Year of her age.

The inscription to Charles Russell is on the south side of the tomb, and runs thus :

In this tomb with his Uncle,
SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.,
to whom he was obliged
in Education and Fortune,
Lye the remains of
COLONEL CHARLES RUSSELL,
Who entered into the service of his King and Country in the year 1718.
He served in GIBRALTAR in the year 1727,
And led the first Battalion of Guards in the Charge at the Battle
Of FONTENOI April the 30th 1745 with greatest bravery and
Resolution And was soon afterwards honoured with the command of the 34th
Regiment of Foot [Attending of] which in the Island of Minorca
He contracted a disorder of which he died Nov. 20 1754
Aged 54.
In the more private duties of Life as a Husband Father and Friend
He deserved the esteem and imitation of all that knew him.

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

VII. ON ORNAMENTAL METAL-WORK APPLIED TO
JAPANESE WEAPONS.

THE Japanese did not use firearms until the sixteenth century. The mighty sword and arrows were the chief defensive weapons. These they made in endless forms and fashions to suit all requirements—for distant practice or hand-to-hand fighting. Generals carried flat and closed fans, for giving direction on the battle-field or for use as a shield at close quarters. Often during action soldiers threw small sharp knives at each other. But the art of utilizing metals for weapons of defence was known to these people a thousand years ago. This art was brought to a great pitch of excellence in the fourteenth century, and was perfected during the term of Great Peace, which commenced A.D. 1603, and continued until the Restoration, A.D. 1868.

Arms were in great request during the turbulent times, when the Minamoto and Taira clans contended for the right of governing the people in a military sense; but when Ieyasu settled the long dispute and restored tranquillity, the beautifying of swords and sword furniture became a matter of great interest to all privileged to carry these protective weapons. In the sword was centred all the pride of the wearer; it became his dearest friend, the guardian of his honour as well as his greatest treasure. Most of the male population were armed, each feudal Prince having many retainers under him, all allowed not only to carry one, but two swords.*

* The wearing of two swords was granted as a great privilege. The large sword was for self-defence. The smaller one for self-destruction. This severe prerogative was extended to certain persons under certain conditions. For instance, if a retainer wished to avenge any wrong done to his liege lord, and went so far as to punish the offender with death, the

Upon the sword, as upon everything else which these Orientals produce, labour was abundantly lavished; every portion received minute attention—the guard, the blade, the hilt, the scabbard, down to the smallest accessories. Not only was it an appendage of dress in the daytime, but it was carefully laid aside in a suitable resting-place at night; and in the living-room of every house was seen a raised dais, with a stand specially provided for the purpose of holding the sword.

As many thousand swords were worn, an endless variety of patterns and makes was the result. Like everything else, hand labour alone was employed. Machinery was unknown. Tools were of the simplest description, and contrivances were nominal. Women took the heaviest share of the labour of sorting, washing, raising ores from the mine's mouth, and preparing them for the refining and other processes.

With regard to the making of swords, there were certain solemn rules of etiquette to be observed, which on no account could be disregarded. The forging was almost a religious labour, and those who undertook it had, in the first place, to exercise strict abstinence, robe themselves in new garments of a ceremonial pattern, and forge in secrecy, while above them floated the *Gohei*, or strips of white paper, offerings to the Shinto gods, or spirits of departed heroes, to invoke a blessing on the work.

Most of the best blades were of steel and iron combined, welded into each other, cut into bars, hammered out, folded and refolded, and reforged, until the numerous layers

servant, if he had been granted the above-named privilege, was permitted to take the law into his own hands, and perform *seppuku*, a peculiar form of self-destruction. This act secured him the respect of his friends and followers, the honour of the family, and saved his real and personal property from confiscation. Had the life of the avenger and retainer been taken by stranger hands, honour and possessions would have been forfeited. One of the greatest classic stories of Japan is that of the forty-seven Ronins who avenged their lord, and then sacrificed their own lives in the bravest manner according to the idea of the times.

became perfectly amalgamated. After these processes came the tempering, during which stages the upper portion of the blade was carefully covered up with wet clay, sand, etc., and the edge alone exposed to heat. This was to create a very hard edge, while the back remained malleable to a certain extent, and able to receive the attentions of the engraver and chaser. Then followed the sharpening, which was not done by the aid of the grindstone, but by friction, backwards and forwards. Finally the polishing of the blade was undertaken, which was effected by a steel burnisher. A fine blade, carefully made by an expert, was of great value, and was often handed down as an heirloom through many generations, or was preserved in one of the temples, if the wearer had distinguished himself by deeds of heroism or valour. Many famous swords are known, and have legends attached to them. Sword-blades were sometimes engraved, sometimes cut in open patterns with a fret-saw, or otherwise ornamented. The chief attention of the metal artists was directed, from an ornamental point of view, upon the furniture or fitting of the sword, the scabbard, and the sheath.

The sword-guard is called, in Japanese, *Tsuba*; the collar fixing over the tang is called *Fuchi*, and the cap at the end of the handle *Kashira*; the ornament placed under the braid, that was usually bound round the handle, is named *Menuki*. These usual accessories received the most elaborate styles of workmanship. These portions were made of metals, usually iron, and various bronzes, though tsubas sometimes consisted of compressed paper, lacquered wood, or ivory.

There are no jewels used in Japan, as we understand jewellery, but to compensate for this deficiency the natives resort to alloying and preparing metals in such a manner that they can obtain and represent almost any required colour on the small space afforded by a sword-guard three or four inches in diameter. Even on the pommel, an oval less than one and a half inches long, a perfect picture replete

with the minutest details could thus be presented and endowed with life-like fidelity.

To effect the numerous colours found on these objects, the Japanese have recourse to alloys, which are termed, principally, *Shibuichi*, *Shakudō*, *Sentoku*, and *Sawari*. These can be varied by the quantities of the metal ingredients brought into their composition. *Shibuichi* is obtained, as a rule, by three-fourths copper and one-fourth silver, but sometimes other metals are introduced into it. *Shakudō* is principally copper and gold; *Sentoku*, copper and zinc; *Sawari*, copper and tin. This last-named is alloyed by fusion. The various shades and colours found in these alloys are due to the finishing process lavished upon them. The result of this process is termed patina. Japanese patina is not what is usually understood by the term, viz., "the presence of an unequal green film, found chiefly in ancient coins, and often counterfeited." Patina is produced by a pickle, for which there are several formulas, each alloy receiving special treatment. Verdigris, sulphate of copper, common salt, and vinegar form most of these pickling solutions. The alloyed bronzes above mentioned are dipped into these pickles. Then most beautiful effects are produced: sunlight, moonlight, blood-red flowers and pale-blue waters, are only some of the tasks a true metal artist delights to set himself to master.

Besides the aid of bronzes, alloys, and true metals, there are other ways of enhancing this art work. There are many methods of treating the portions to be embellished. On iron and bronze foundations, patterns can be worked out in gold, silver, and other metals. Firstly, by *Intarsia* work, which is a flat inlaying of metal on metal. This is done by excavating the metal base, and inserting other metals into the excavation, then hammering the one into the other. Secondly, by *damascening*, or incrusting. To effect this a groove is prepared by running a small chisel first one side, then the other, and afterwards hammering or burnishing a wire of fine metal into the minute channel.

Thirdly, by *Azziminia*. This is the decoration of one metal with another by *onlaying*. It is achieved by scratching fine lines crossways (like the warp and woof of linen), to form a rough surface, then by placing sheets of leaf metals upon the prepared portions and hammering with a mallet until the one substance adheres to the other.

Then there are other treatments differing entirely from those just described. They are, I believe, purely Japanese. One of these is termed *Mokumé*, or wood-grain, from its resemblance to the markings seen in wood that is cut and planed with the grain. A number of thin plates are arranged one over the other, and soldered together with a solder composed of silver, zinc, and copper, care being taken to arrange these strata of metal in order that a diversity of colours may be obtained. The whole is then placed upon a foundation, previously prepared, with raised spikes or points; the amalgamated plates are then hammered over the foundation, which results in prominences showing on the upper surface of the mass. The prominences are filed off, and circles and curves of many shades are produced resembling wood-grain. Another way of carrying out this work is by drilling conical holes in the upper surface of the mass, or cutting furrows in it of different depths, then hammering the surface together once more until the metals meet and mingle into a perfect even whole. By stirring mixed metals in a liquid state, just when they are on the point of solidifying, they unite, but do not thoroughly mix, and a mottled alloy is the result. This is a favourite process with Japanese art workmen. Besides these methods already described, the incrusting of other materials, such as coral, haliotis, or plates of ear-shell, coloured ivories, tortoiseshell, and so forth, into the foundation was often resorted to for a change. Cutting fine iron with a fret-saw into most fanciful and charming patterns proved a very successful mode of decoration.

Engraving, chasing, etching away by means of acids, as well as lacquering, were much practised, as well as *cloisonné*

and *champlevé* work, for which these Orientals have long been famous. Cloisonné enamel is a species of mosaic, and is extremely durable. Upon a copper foundation a tracing is first made of the intended design, and then a fine brass or copper ribbon is bent into the required form and soldered upon the foundation. The cells, or cloisons, as they are technically termed, are then supplied with enamel pastes of various colours. The cells are most carefully filled, left to dry in the air for a short time, and afterwards baked in a muffle, or oven-shaped furnace. Several repetitions of baking, refilling, rubbing, and polishing complete the process, and when these are finished the surface of the enamel becomes perfectly smooth and hard, and of uniform texture. This kind of work is generally carried out by women, who sit at a table each with some special tinted preparation before them. The object is passed from one to the other, each woman supplying to the cells, with the aid of a wand or scoop, the right-coloured enamel to effect the design. The substances employed are much the same as those used for *faience* or clay wares—ferric oxide for red and brown, manganese for violet, white lead for white, verdigris for green, blue vitriol and cobalt for blue, antimony for yellow, and so forth. These are so combined that, when ground down and mixed into a paste with volatile oil, they will fuse at a comparatively low temperature and become vitreous. The enamels are made up of certain substances coloured by metallic oxides; some shrink more than others during the operation of drying and fusing, and for this reason many beautiful examples of cloisonné become hopelessly spoilt. *Champlevé* is an embedded enamel, much rarer than cloisonné, and in this variety the cells are part of the groundwork itself; they are either carved out or cast in. *Champlevé* work is more translucent than cloisonné; it is always worked upon a gold foundation, with gold ribbons for the cloisons. In all differences of this ornamentation the surface of the work is ground down, levelled, and polished in order to secure a perfectly even appearance.

In cloisonné the metal barriers forming the cells, though perfectly unobtrusive and subservient, enhance the work by their presence, as well as being safeguards against any possible blur, or running of the pastes, which are used to follow out the scheme of decoration.

To the treatment of sword furniture already explained may be added: hammer-markings, carving, punching, etching away by means of acids and carbonizing. Hammer-marking, termed in Japanese *Nanakō*, or fish-roe, is much favoured. The markings formed by the blow from the hammer are infinitesimally small, and perfectly regular. *Nanakō* is chosen as a groundwork, taking the place of the "mats" executed by our English metal-workers. It gives a dulness to the object, an effect always pleasing to the Japanese art workman. It also sets off any further enrichment the object is destined to receive. Sometimes freer and bolder blows of the hammer constitute the only embellishment of iron and bronze tsubas, or sword-guards. In etching away by means of acids, the intended design previously agreed upon is sketched upon the foundation in some substance that will resist the influence of the acid. All parts intended to remain in their usual condition are covered over in the same manner. The object is then plunged into diluted nitric, sulphuric, or acetic acid, which dissolves and eats away the exposed surface to the depth required. This depth is determined by the time the object remains in the bath. A granulated groundwork is the result, which varies in fineness and texture according to the particular metal or alloy worked upon, as well as the acid selected for the occasion. It will be seen that in this kind of work no tool will be required, only a Fudé, or brush, for applying the varnish or lacquer used for the design.

Japanese iron is so pure and fine that it can be carved with a chisel, cut with a fret-saw, punched into patterns, and easily marked with a blow from the hammer. Punches, chisels, and steel-faced mallets are the usual simple tools of the metallurgist. Tsubas, fuchi, kashira, menuki, etc., are

sometimes cast when the embellishment is to be in high relief, but they are afterwards softened down with the chasing tools and beautifully finished.

Last, but not least by any means, is that lovely lustrous black known as carburized iron-work. To obtain this, the iron specimen is heated with "a limited supply of air in the presence of water-vapour and of the products of imperfect decomposition of vegetable matter." The dark, rich, glossy patina resists the influence of atmospheric moisture, so detrimental to most metals, and for a century or more a piece of iron thus treated will retain its pristine beauty, as if it had but to-day left the hand of the artificer. This carburized work is, perhaps, the most charming of all in the ample list of metallurgic triumphs.

THE MUHAMMADAN ÆRA.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

ON the 12th day of "Rabi-the-First" Muḥammadans commemorate the "Flight" of their Prophet from Mekka to Medina. This event gave its name to an Æra which is in many respects a curiosity. Interesting as these particulars are, we do not now propose to go into them, but merely to trace out how the mere change of residence alluded to came to be fixed upon as supplying the name. Between the simple historic fact of the Flight and the Æra which takes its name from that event, there is a distinction which even the highest literary authorities continually overlook. Muḥammad did not found the Æra, and the Æra does not date from the Flight: the distinction is a distinction of time. The importance of the question will appear if we observe that even so high an authority as the writer of an article in the latest edition of the best of our general Encyclopædias informs his readers that "the Mahometan æra is *dated from* the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, which was on the night of Thursday, the 15th of July, 622 A.D., and it *commenced* on the following day." The words which we have italicized embody mistakes which the following considerations will help to dissipate.

In the first place, it has never been doubted that the Muslim æra *takes its name* from the Flight of the Prophet, but the statement that the Æra "dates" from that event is inexact, and has been a fruitful source of error. For it is agreed among all historians who have investigated the matter that the Æra which takes its name from that event dates from the first day of the year in which it occurred. This curious device was the handiwork of Umar, the second Khalifa, and he was led to have recourse to such an anachronism from a desire to avoid disturbing the Arabian year. Even this, however, is not a complete account of the matter; for it seems that Hajiras (or "Emigrations")

to Medina of those who could no longer endure the persecutions in which their adherence to the Prophet involved them in Mekka, had actually begun on the first day in that year. Nor must the credit of instituting the Æra be ascribed to Muḥammad : so far from this, indeed, was he that there is not a trace of evidence to shew that he personally had any idea of anything so ambitious. To be sure, the event of his flight from the city of his birth would naturally stand well out in his recollection—marking, in his mind, the greatest crisis in his personal history ; and hence, according to some of the Arabic traditions, the custom of alluding to events as having occurred before or after his flight actually originated with the Prophet himself. In like manner the people of India quite commonly decide the period of domestic events (marriages, births, deaths, etc.) by referring to “the time of the Mutiny” as the starting-point backward or forward. It is quite in keeping with the time-honoured usage of peoples in Oriental countries to thus settle dates by referring to some important and well-known occurrence. But Muḥammad’s acting in line with this practice does not prove that he had any intention of making the event of his escape from Mekka the occasion of establishing an Æra. Were it otherwise, the existence of a period known as “Al-Hajira” would have been uniformly recognised among the Faithful by the authority of the Prophet’s own example during the long course of seventeen or eighteen years ; and the practice of utilizing the event of the Flight would in that case have been a superfluity and an impertinence of which Umar, of all men, would (we may be quite sure) not have been guilty. Such official utilization of the event was, in truth, an after-thought : and it had its origin in a desire on the part of that Khalifa to out-rival certain of the Christians of his time who happen to have instituted a fresh æra among themselves by way of commemorating the persecutions endured by their brethren at the hands of a Roman Emperor.

The late learned Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Prideaux—

with that thoroughness and lucidity which have secured for his invaluable works a permanency and authority which no dispassionate man has ever yet refused to recognize—states the case thus: “The Hegera, which is the Æra of Mahometans, was first appointed by Omar, Emperor of the Saracens, and the occasion was as follows: There happened a contest before him concerning a debt of money. The creditor had from his debtor a bill wherein he acknowledged the debt, and bound himself by a promise to pay it on such a day of such a month. The date agreed on having passed, the creditor sued his debtor before Omar for the money. The debtor acknowledged the debt, but denied that the day of payment was yet come, alleging that the month mentioned in the bill was that month in the year next ensuing. The creditor, however, contended that it was that month in the year last past; and as there was no date to the bill, it was impossible to decide the point. Hereupon Omar called his council together to consider of some method by which a recurrence of such difficulties in the future might be prevented. It was then decreed that all bills and other instruments should from that time forward have inserted into them the date both of the day of the month and also of the year in which they were signed. And as to the year, he (having consulted with Harmuzan, a learned Persian then sojourning with him) ordained that for the future all computations should be made from the emigration of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina. And for this reason,” Prideaux goes on, “this Æra is called ‘Al Hegera,’ which in the Arabic language signifieth ‘a Flight.’ It takes its beginning from the sixteenth day of July, in the year of Our Lord six hundred and twenty-two. And ever since this Decree of Omar (which happened in the eighteenth year of the Hegera) it hath constantly been used among the Mahometans—in the same manner as the computation from the incarnation of our Lord Christ is with us Christians. The day that Mahomet left Mecca was on the first day of the ‘First

Rabia,' and he arrived in Medina on the twelfth of the same month. But the Hegera begins two months before—to wit, from the first day of Muhurram. For that being the first month of the Arabian year, Omar desired not to make any alteration as to that, but anticipated the computation fifty-nine days that he might begin his Æra from the beginning of the year in which this flight of Mahomet took place, which gave name thereto. Till the appointing of this Æra it was usual with the Arabians to compute from the last war they were engaged in." So far Prideaux. At Mekka, in the lifetime of the Prophet, "the Æra of the War of the Elephant" and "the Æra of the Impious War" were those by which computations were made.

It remains to point out that the motive by which Umar is said to have been influenced is the analogy between the persecutions of the Christians and those of the followers of the Prophet. Holding the beliefs he held regarding Muhammad, he might conceivably have thought of making the Muslim æra commence (as in the case of Christians) from the year of the Prophet's nativity, or of his decease, or of his announcement of his prophetic mission. But finding that some of the Arabian Christians had taken to counting the years from the year of Christ 284 (the time from which was dated the last general persecution by Diocletian), and called it "the Æra of the Martyrs," the fervent and zealous Khalifa decided upon adopting the same principle in establishing an Æra for his own religion. He resolved, in imitation of his Christian neighbours, to institute the practice of commencing his calculation from the period of the most memorable persecution the Muslims had suffered; and this was, beyond a doubt, the sustained and bitter persecution which culminated at last in their abandonment of their native city, and seeking a settled home elsewhere. The above dispute between the debtor and the creditor was but the incident which formed the immediate occasion for the application of this principle, and but for this incident there is no ground for supposing that the

Æra known as the "Hajira" would ever have been instituted.

Thus much for the circumstances under which the Æra recognised by Muhammadans was first established ; but the precise date of the Hajira has, after all, proved to be one of the most perplexing questions in Muslim history. Scarcely any two authorities are entirely agreed regarding the point, and the difficulties increase the deeper one goes into the subject. In the first place, they disagree regarding the day of the week on which the Flight occurred. Tabari, Ibn Is-hák, and Wáqidi, all assert that Muḥammad arrived in Medina on a Monday ; but then it is discovered that the 12th of Rabi-the-First was not a Monday in that year. Others, again, say that the Flight occurred on a Friday : thus, Ibn Qalbi says that the fugitives left the cave of Jabal Thûr on Monday, the 1st day of Rabi-the-First, and reached Medina on Friday, the 12th of that month. This author is probably correct, as the 1st and 8th of Rabi-the-First in that year have been found to have been Mondays. There is disagreement, also, as to the day of the month, some making the Flight occur on the 1st of Rabi-the-First ; others, the 3rd ; others, the 4th ; others, the 8th ; others, the 9th ; while, according to Wáqidi, some are of opinion that the Prophet arrived in Medina on the 2nd of that month. On one point, however, there seems never to have been any doubt—that the month was Rabi-the-First. The essential point in the controversy is the date of Muḥammad's arrival in Medina—a different point entirely from that of his departure from Mekka. From the facts thus brought together it will appear that historians, both Arabian and European, are generally agreed that Muḥammad made his Flight from Mekka in the earlier part of Rabi-the-First : the point on which they are not agreed is as to the precise *day* of that Flight which came in after-years to be celebrated under the name of "Al-Hejirah," or more correctly "Al-Hajira."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, at the Westminster Town Hall, General Sir Thomas E. Gordon, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., in the chair, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., delivered an address on "Persia." The following, among others, were present: Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B.; Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I.; Louisa Lady Ashburton; Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Colonel Sir W. Bisset; Sir J. Danvers, K.C.S.I.; General Sir John Watson, K.C.B., V.C.; Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I.; Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.; Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I.; Hon. W. F. B. Massey Mainwaring, M.P.; Hon. C. M. Rivaz, C.S.I.; Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I.; Hussein Kuli Khan, Secretary Persian Legation; General Macmahon; Lieut.-General Lance, C.B.; Colonel Clementi; Colonel A. Cousbey; Colonel J. Davidson; Colonel H. B. Hamilton; Colonel C. H. T. Marshall; Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, C.I.E.; Lieut.-Colonel Surgeon J. Ince, M.D.; Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Dudley Sampson; Dr. Theodore Duka; Mr. and Mrs. Aublet; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Miss K. Arbuthnot; Mr. T. Barnsley; Mr. C. E. D. Black; Mr. W. A. Buchanan; Mr. B. E. Spencer Broadhurst; Mrs. Bernard Broadhurst; Miss Broadhurst and Miss Florence B. Broadhurst; Mr. A. H. Campbell; Mr. H. Coke; Mr. W. Coldstream; Miss Julia Cole; Mrs. Cook and Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. J. E. Champney; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Crichton; Mr. A. B. Dawson; Mr. D. Donovan; Mr. J. M. Douglas; Mr. A. R. Gawthrop; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. H. D. Greville; Mr. G. Featherstone Griffin; Mr. A. W. Harris; Mrs. Hotz; Mr. E. Horowitz; Mr. W. Hughes; Colonel

Kilgour; Mr. Kanwar Sain Mathur; Mr. Kelsall; Mr. T. A. Kern; Mr. F. Hall-Kirby; Mr. E. Koep; Mr. J. E. Liddiard, F.R.G.S.; Mr. R. Popham-Lobb; Mr. C. Lyne; Mr. George S. Mackenzie; Mr. C. G. Master; Mr. W. Mason; Mr. Allan McLean; Mr. David McLean; Mr. James Murray; Mr. G. Newell; Mr. J. B. Pennington (retired M.C.S.); Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine-Petre; Mr. Lesley C. Probyn; Mr. G. B. Rennie; Moulvie Raffi ud din Ahmed; Mr. Alexander Rogers (late B.C.S.); Mr. E. Dennison-Ross; Mr. B. Gurbaksh Singh; Mr. F. Singh; Mr. Stielow; Mr. J. N. Stuart; Miss Tatham; Mr. J. Tiede; Mr. C. M. Thacker; Mr. C. G. Times; Mr. W. Warren; Miss Webster; Mrs. and Miss Welsh; Mr. J. H. L. Wells; Mr. Arnold White; Mr. Cuthbert S. Williams; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Lepel Griffin has chosen for his address to-day a subject which I think is very timely and interesting—timely, by reason of certain events which have lately happened having attracted some particular attention to Persia; and interesting in view of the probable visit this summer to London of the Shah, His Imperial Majesty Muzaffer-ed-Din, who is the ruling head of the Persian monarchy—a very ancient monarchy. It arose when Babylon fell, and it has endured through wars, revolution, rebellions, and changes of Ministry from the days of Cyrus the Great of Scripture until the present time. I will ask Sir Lepel Griffin to give his lecture.*

After some preliminary remarks, SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said:

I would commence my address by expressing my pleasure at seeing in the chair my old friend Sir Thomas Gordon, whom I specially invited to act as a living witness to correct any errors into which I might fall, for he is, I consider, the man who is best acquainted with the politics, the people, and the trade of Persia, a friend of the late and

* See our first article.

of the present Shah, and well acquainted with many of his Ministers.

There is no occasion for the East India Association to apologize for inviting an address and discussion on Persia, a country which is connected with India by a long diplomatic history, while the interests and perhaps the fortunes of both have been and will remain nearly related. You may remember that Lord Curzon dedicated his monumental work on "Persia" "to the officials, civil and military, in India whose hands uphold the noblest fabric yet reared by the genius of a conquering nation"; and in this dedication Lord Curzon not only paid what this Association may consider a just tribute to those services, but they will hold that his judgment was right in appreciating the importance which Persia is to India.

After Sir Lepel Griffin delivered his address, the CHAIRMAN said he thought the subject which had been opened up was too big a one for him to deal with in the short time that remained. The irrigation scheme was simply the revival of an old scheme. The irrigation cuts, the great canals, one of them 40 miles long and 40 feet in width, were ready to work when opened. It would require about £150,000 to begin it. The Shah's Government was excessively chary of giving anybody the chance of raising that sum, lest it should introduce colonies of labour, and all the demands and quarrels which the Government of Persia naturally believed would give them a great deal of trouble. It was a practicable scheme, and one out of which financiers could make money.

LORD REAY: If the chairman, with his wide knowledge of the subject, says that he is afraid to touch on it, I need not tell you that I, who am not an expert in Persian matters, shall not detain you except to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer. We all agree that the lecture we have heard to-day is full of interest. It is also one of various suggestions—suggestions so serious and of such import that it would be unwise, I think, for any of us to

express an opinion about them at once. I hope that this lecture will be widely circulated. There are two kinds of lectures: one which is addressed to an audience, and which is of an ephemeral character, which has for the moment given pleasure and excited applause. There are other lectures which are more in the form of essays, carefully thought out. I believe that this lecture entirely belongs to the latter category. It is entirely worthy of the speaker, and worthy of this Association. Obviously the subject of Persia is one of the greatest importance to all of us who are interested in the greatness and the security of our Indian Empire. To those who have long watched the progress of affairs in Persia, the conviction has been strengthened that Persia is not a *quantité négligeable* from our point of view; that we are greatly interested in everything that occurs in Persia—not only in the South, but also in the North. I shall not add one word more on the subject, which obviously is extremely delicate, as all those know who have had to deal with it more or less officially. Therefore, allow me before I sit down to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for his admirable and most interesting lecture.

A vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks to General Gordon for taking the chair was proposed by SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, seconded by LORD REAY, and carried amidst applause; and the proceedings then terminated.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

JAPANESE ILLUSTRATED LITERATURE AND ART.

Of the many ideas that have been borrowed from Western sources, that of preparing daily papers, magazines, and other general literature for the public is already conspicuous in Japan. Where the two extremes of East and West meet, as in the case of the magazine the *Fuzoku Gahō*, our attention is drawn towards the efforts that have been made to form an interesting addition to literature and art.

Between Japan and European countries at first no copyright existed. Restrictions bearing on this important subject have already been considered, and came into force with other graver jurisprudential conditions in A.D. 1899.

The *Fuzoku Gahō*, for example, an illustrated magazine of Japanese life, is a modern press publication, comparatively speaking, in its infancy. It is a hybrid between ancient and recent work, of which many examples are now issued to the Japanese public. The system upon which it is "got up" shows that although Western ideas have been accepted, in many respects the original manner of making books is still studied. The title-page and frontispiece will be found at the end of the journal, and the pages number, according to our idea, backwards. The text is given in usual Oriental style, running half-way down the page from top to bottom, commencing from the right-hand side. All matter for reading, either explanations of pictures, news, advertisements, and so forth, is printed in Chinese characters, with the exception of the last page, which is in Japanese.

The illustrations show the influence of Western ideas. The *Fuzoku Gahō* is profusely illustrated in various ways—double-paged pictures confined to single subjects, or made up of many sketches, as we find them in our weekly numbers of the *Graphic*, the *Queen*, etc. This system is most frequently resorted to where several classes of the community are engaged in the same occupation, or when the old and new version of existing things are set off against each other by way of contrast. Single-paged pictures in black and white or colours, and also small sketches interspersed in the text, are comprised within the covers of this monthly. The *Fuzoku Gahō* embraces a variety of subjects of historic worth and present interest—ancient manners and customs that are rapidly disappearing, such as the secret forging of swords, the cutting of stone implements, the celebration of old-established festivals, down to the latest incidents in Corea and Formosa, thus insuring many readers by the wide range of subjects it embraces.

Occasionally advertisements of English goods appear in a cloud of Chinese ideographs, for instance, the figure of an English watch, printed on coloured paper to arrest attention; and Japanese articles of manufacture are recommended in the same European method.

Owing to the use of Chinese ideographs, in which most printed matter

is given, the editing of a journal or newspaper in Japan is no light task. Mr. Henry Norman tells us that the staff employed on a "daily" amounts to nearly a hundred and fifty persons.

As the Japanese equivalent for the Chinese characters employed requires to be kept continually in the ears of those who pick out the ideographs for the printer, the press-room is one murmur of sing-song from the lips of the boys whose business it is to hunt out the types from the tall cases that line the walls. The sounds must be uttered or they cannot be recognised among the many thousand types that need be overlooked for the compilation of an ordinary printed book. The lower classes in Japan cannot understand their journals unless they can read them aloud.

Too much credit must not be placed as yet upon daily intelligence. If news that will interest the public is not to be gained through the day's events, it must be forthcoming from the brains of the reporters. The absence of a general telegraphic system, or any other quick way of disseminating news from one town to another, renders reliable information difficult to collect at a given time. Besides, editors must not give too much to the public, and the large staff necessary is partly owing to indiscretions of this kind. There must always be one or more editors to spare. If injudicious liberality of information has enforced the temporary residence of an editor in a place of silence, safety, and police supervision, another must be ready to take up the work.

The pictures of the *Fuzoku Gahō* will interest those who have not been fortunate enough to have paid Japan a visit. The introduction of Western hats, umbrellas, boots, shoes, and other garments which take the fancy of Orientals, will be seen to show up conspicuously in the midst of native surroundings. The magazine gives an insight into Japanese home-life, pastimes and amusements, peculiar street trades, performances, scenes of national interest, and other items of life as it exists in the Far East.

The illustration of two authors writing on the old and new system brings vividly before us the change customs have undergone of late. It is a pity that the perfection of manliness, feminine beauty, and all other human attractions, is so lightly regarded by some of the greatest artists the world has produced. Life, vigour, movement, idealism of line, and all other essentials which lend value to works of art, declare themselves. But the mind tells, through the interpretation of the brush, how little the beauty of Divine modelling of the human form has appealed to the Asiatic. It is not due to defective talent, but simply to the influence of religious and moral training instilled through a thousand generations.

C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

LAND TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.

SIR,

As my name has been brought rather prominently forward by Mr. Baden-Powell in his article on the "Political Tenures of Gujarat and Western India," published in your number of last July, I think it as well to supplement some of the information he has given, and to correct a few

slight errors he has fallen into from inexperience of Bombay revenue matters. Why he should have called the tenures "Political" I do not understand, for they are no more due to political, as distinguished from ordinary, administrative origins than other tenures, all, or nearly all, mention of which has been omitted in the course of his remarks. Such are the Narvādāri in Kaira (Khedā), the Bhāgdāri in Broach (Bharūch), and the Khoti in the Southern Koukan: the former two of these are distinctly *coparcenary*, derived from a common ancestor or ancestors, or partly so, and partly *associate* through adventitious circumstances; and the last estates, held originally by mere farmers of State revenues, have in time become hereditary so as to constitute a permanent tenure.

He says of the Talukdāri, Mevāsi, and Udhadjamabandi estates that they are apparently recorded separately because the Government revenue is assessed differently in each; but the real reason of their distinct recognition as tenures lies in their difference of origin. The first and the last were, in fact, the same in olden days, and held by the same classes of Rajput overlords; and the difference in the methods of their assessment, that of the Udhadjamabandi estates remaining still at the same figures as before the advent of British rule, while those of the Talukdāri estates have varied in the manner stated, has arisen from the simple fact of the former being situated in what was formerly called the Eastern Zillah, north of the Mhye (Māhi river), and the latter in the Western Zillah. In the former village accountants were not appointed, and the rentals remained the same: in the latter they were, and the different method of assessment which has led to their degradation and ruin were adopted. The Mevāsi owe the difference in their treatment to the fear the Mogul and Mahrātha rulers of olden days had of meddling with a race of Kolis, who would have resented it turbulently, as the Rajputs in the more settled parts of the country did not, having become enervated, probably by opium-eating. A full account of how all this came to pass will be found in my "History of the Bombay Land Revenue under the Ahmadabad and Kaira Collectories," by those who are curious in such matters.

I may here correct an orthographical error in the spelling of the word *Māliki*, which has probably led Mr. Baden-Powell into a wrong conception of the tenure, as if the word were derived from *Mālik*, an owner. The name is *Maleki*, and is derived from the name of the Mussulman tribe Malek, to which the original grantees belonged. They were in reality mere Jāgirs. The origin and treatment of the Kasbātis are correctly described.

The policy of the Government of Bombay in adhering to the old idea of the proprietary right of the State in all lands is attributed to a desire to possess a *locus standi* from which to secure the hereditary and transferable "occupancy" tenure of the cultivating *rayats*. This is to credit the authorities of former years with far greater political foresight than is their due; for the *rayatdāri* tenure was simply forced upon them by the state of chaos they found existing, and the disruption of all village ties, as the result of the system of farming out the collection of the State dues under the rule of the Mahrathas. The grant of the right of hereditary and

transferable occupancy to the rayats was a pure act of grace on the introduction of the Revenue Survey. The right is of course granted subject to the liability to the payment of the Government assessment, but that does not constitute the State the owner of the land, as Mr. Baden-Powell endeavours to make out. None but an owner can have a right to mortgage or sell his land, as the *rayat* has under the Survey Settlements. The State has deliberately made itself a rent-charger, abandoning the proprietary right. No doubt, under an uncivilized and unscrupulous régime the two terms might practically become synonymous, but under British rule the object is to create proprietors who have the full opportunity by law of benefiting themselves and their descendants by making untaxable improvements in their lands, and not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. I accordingly repudiate the assertion that the Government remains the owner.

It is correct to say that the early idea that the Tálukdars were temporary lease-holders had a great influence. The word *ta'alluq* (تعلىق) might give the idea that the estates were in a state of dependence, but I am more inclined to other senses in which the word may equally well be used, such as "holding together" and "property," or even "perpetual lease" (see Johnson's Persian Dictionary). The term "lease" as applied by us in their case is rightly said to have been merely a settlement of the State revenue for a term of years; the right to such settlement was, however, hereditary, and the insertion of clauses by which the idea of proprietorship was gradually infringed upon was the act of the earlier Collectors, merely for administrative purposes, without any *arrière pensée*, such as actually brought about a change of tenure.

Referring to Mr. Baden-Powell's remarks on the subject of *wántá* (literally divided lands), if he had consulted the old Bombay Regulation III., of 1827, he would have found this and many others included among the tenures which, according to the custom of the country, conferred a prescriptive proprietary title to the lands so designated. From these the *giránia* (mortgaged land), mentioned by Mr. Baden-Powell under Surat, and *vechánia* (sold land) were excluded in the first instance as not conferring proprietary title as they were liable to be repurchased or redeemed, inasmuch as the former, at all events, were meant to be merely temporary alienations by the Patels or other revenue managers during the days of the Mahratha farms; but they were by a subsequent law included among the proprietary tenures. Among them, strange to say, was one entitled *Bathdmania* (usurped land—originally, taken forcible possession of); others were *girá*s (really blackmail land); and *vol*, of similar origin; *pasáeta* (presented or held for service to villagers—temples, etc.); *aidá* (dowry land); and *hádia* or *hádká** (literally bone or blood-money land, given for life sacrificed in defence of village rights), etc. As an inquiry into lands held under these and other prescriptive titles would have entailed prolonged expense for the payment of huge establishments, it was considered advisable to pass a law (in 1853, as far as I recollect) by which

* Misprinted, if I remember rightly, *barid*.

on the holders agreeing to pay as a quit-rent in lieu of investigation of titles from one-eighth to one-half assessment, all titles were confirmed and new title-deeds were given. Hence came the name of *sanadi salāmi* (quit-rent according to grant), which Mr. Baden-Powell has erroneously assumed to exist in Talukdari villages. The words, by the way, are not *sanad-i-salāmi*, as given by him. He also says :

"In all villages completely dominated by the *darbār*, or Talukdari kindred, we find (as usual) that the old *raiyaṭdāri* village organization of the cultivators has been completely overborne."

If this means that the *raiyaṭs* originally held proprietary rights which the Talukdars have usurped, I doubt it, for I have frequently asked the farmers who own the land, and they unhesitatingly answer that the *darbār* does, and can even turn them out of their houses and sell them if it desires to do so.

By the term *raḥāt-dāntā*, used in describing the tenure of some of the Bhāruch *udhaḍ-gamābandi* estates, Mr. Baden-Powell understands that "they were allowed to be free of revenue on condition of quiet and peace (*raḥāt*) being maintained, and perhaps some other service rendered; otherwise they were liable to be called on at any moment to pay full rates." He has been misinformed, as the term merely means an "easy" rental, similar to *salāmi*, or quit-rent, on other alienated lands, which is, I believe, fixed in perpetuity, no such conditions being implied; how they came originally to be let off with easy rentals is lost in the obscurity of time.

In his summary of the history of the Rajput and Koli estates, Mr. Baden-Powell states they are now acknowledged as proprietorships or landed estates, and they are, or can be, surveyed, and all sub-shares and rights recorded. It must be understood that such survey is not a detailed measurement of and classification of soils in fields, such as those on which assessments in *raiyaṭdāri* villages are based, but a rough survey to ascertain approximately the fair rentals of estates, to afford the Revenue officers data on which to fix the Government demands in place of untrustworthy estimates based on former payments, or what the estates have yielded while under temporary official management. Such a survey is one for the ascertainment of the resources and protection of the Talukdars as well as the State, and may afford a means by which the constantly increasing sapping of the means out of which the State revenues have to be met in consequence of the necessities of ever-expanding families, whom they are bound to support, may be checked; otherwise their fate is inevitable, and they must in time sink to the level of ordinary *raiyaṭs*.

In conclusion I would point out that Surat is *anglice* Surat and not Surāt, and according to the proper native accent Sūrāt (phonetically Soorut); Chunwāl is from Chunwālis or 44, and not 41, and the Kaira Talūka mentioned as containing the Maleki estates is Thāsra, not Thansra.

Faithfully yours,

A. ROGERS.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE JAINS IN INDIA.

I think it may be interesting to your readers to have a brief history of the Jains in India. The word *Jain* has been derived from *jin*, which means "a vanquisher." The followers of *Jins* or Tirthankaras (those just men who have made themselves perfect and attained Nirvana, *i.e.*, liberation of the soul from birth and death) are called Jains—*i.e.*, those who believe in the ethics and doctrines of *Jinbani*, or what they (*i.e.*, men who were perfect and have become Tirthankara or Ishwar) have stated to their followers to act upon. This is called *Jainism*, which is really a religion. This is not a sect or caste of Hinduism, but an independent religion. Nor is it a branch of Buddhism, as admitted by the following European authors in their books on Indian religions: W. W. Hunter, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., late Director of General Statistics to the Government of India ("Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vi., pp. 158-162); G. T. Bettany, Esq., M.A., B.C.S. ("The Great Indian Religions," chap. x., pp. 239-245); John Anderson, Esq., M.D. EDIN., Superintendent Indian Museum ("Archæological Collections," pp. 196-200); "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xiii., p. 543; "Sacred Books of the East," vols. xxii. and xlv., by Professor Jacobi.

In the Parliament of Religions and Religious Congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Virchand Raghoji Gandhie Jain, B.A., barrister-at-law, was invited to attend, and he represented the Jain community in India, and an address was delivered by him on the "Ethics and History of the Jains," which is printed in Neely's "History" on pp. 732-736. Jainism is not a new religion, nor was it founded by Mahavira. He was the last Tirthankara of the twenty-four, the twenty-three having lived and attained Nirvan before his birth. Nor was it founded by Parsva nath; but he was only the twenty-third Tirthankara, who lived and attained Nirvan just before Mahavira.

The names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras are given below in order of their existence :

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Aād nath ji. | 13. Bimal nath ji. |
| 2. Ajal nath ji. | 14. Anant nath ji. |
| 3. Sambhana nath ji. | 15. Dharam nath ji. |
| 4. Abhinandna nath ji. | 16. Sant nath ji. |
| 5. Sumait nath ji. | 17. Kunt nath ji. |
| 6. Padam Probhoo ji. | 18. Ara nath ji. |
| 7. Suparsna nath ji. | 19. Malli nath ji. |
| 8. Chandra Probhoo ji. | 20. Munsamrit nath ji. |
| 9. Push Pudant nath ji. | 21. Nimi nath ji. |
| 10. Sitāl nath ji. | 22. Nemi nath ji. |
| 11. Sri aus nath ji. | 23. Parswa nath ji. |
| 12. Baspuj ji. | 24. Mahavira ji. |

Strictly and properly speaking, Jainism has no founder, it is eternal; and if it can at all be said to have any founder, it is with reference to some particular time. According to Jainism, time consists of circles, and there

are twenty-four Tirthankaras for every half-circle. Of the twenty-four Tirthankaras for the present half-circle, *Ādī nath* is the first and Mahavira the last. Thus, it is only with reference to the present half-circle that *Ādī nath* can be designated the founder of Jainism; but in no way can Mahavira be regarded so. Up to the last Tirthankara almost the whole population were *Jains*; even the Rajas were nearly all Jains. After the Nirvan of Mahavira—that is, 526 B.C., as admitted by nearly every European author—the Jain religion began to decline. It will appear from a book called “A Journey of Francis Buchanan, Esq., M.D.,” published under the authority of the Honourable the Directors of the East India Company in 1801, that the Jains were the governing Rajas. Even Rama and Seetu were Jains, and they are very highly spoken of in the Jain Shastaras. The above is further corroborated by the fact, as is admitted on all hands, that Jains are the wealthiest class in the whole of India. Although their number has now become reduced to only 1,500,000 in India, still they are the most influential. More than half of the trade of India is in their hands, as noted on pp. 543 and 544 of the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” vol. xiii. Their magnificent series of temples and shrines on *Mount Abu*, one of the seven wonders of India, is perhaps the most striking outward sign of their wealth and importance. Mr. Bhalu nath Chandra, a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his “Travels of a Hindoo,” p. 74, says about the Jain temples at Bindraban Muthra, N.W.P.: “But wealth and influence have procured to the Jains the same footing in the stronghold of Vishnuism. They have bestowed upon their temples the attractiveness of a grandeur and affluence that attracts and dazzles the eyes of the multitude. Indeed, the most interesting object within the walls of the holy city, the spot which no pilgrim can leave Bindraban without seeing, is the magnificent place of Jain worship. Life must have been intolerable in Bindraban if a brief hour or two could not be spent in the midst of this bewitching scenery. The temple is said to have taken a quarter of a century in building, and to have cost, according to the public estimate, the sum of a crore of rupees. There are many others, too numerous to mention here, in India alone. The Jains are not at all backward in education; they have got the highest number of educated men among them, having regard to their small number as compared with other religions, to which most of the Jains in times gone by were converted by force and tyranny before the British rule. They are barristers, vakils, sessions judges, magistrates, deputy collectors, tahsildars, engineers, and executive engineers, etc. They have always been gaining honours from the benign Government of India, and upon several of them the Government has conferred the title of Maha Raja, Raja, Rai Bahadur, etc. An indication of their honesty is that almost all the Government Treasuries in India have been placed under their charge as treasurers. Honesty is the fruit of Jain religion, and frugality the fruit of honesty, and thus they enjoy their present position. For some years a Sabha called Bharalvershya Jain Maha Sabha was working under the presidentship of Raja Seth Luchhman Dass Jaini, C.I.E., of Muthra, but it has flourished very little this year. It has been recognised by Government, and registered under

Act 21 of 1860. It telegraphed a resolution asking His Excellency the Viceroy of India to make over to the committee all the Jain orphans which may be found in any part of India, when they will be brought up and educated as Jains. It was marked with great regret at the last meeting of the Sabha at Muthra in October last that the English-educated Jains were not taking sufficient interest in its workings, and therefore (under the vice-presidency of Seth Amar Chand ji, Sessions Judge) an institution of English-educated Jains, to be called the "Jain Young Men's Association of India," has been established. The names of members are being enrolled; the list up to this time shows 106 members.

The aims and objects of the association are :

- (a) To try to spread the feelings of unity and sympathy amongst all the English-knowing Jains of India.
- (b) To try to work out social reforms.
- (c) To instil into the minds of members the necessity to acquire a proficiency in their religion, and to perform daily religious practices.
- (d) To propagate the study of religious books and tracts along with English education.
- (e) To try to settle in life the educated Jains, and to secure the help of influential gentlemen for the purpose.

Any further information as to the Jains and their Sabhas in India may be had from the undersigned well-wisher of the Jains,

SULTAN SINGH JAINI, Pleader.

Meerut, N.W.P., India,
February 17, 1900.

THE FAMINE RELIEF FUND FOR INDIA.

A correspondent of the *Times* of March 13 draws the attention of the British public to this fund. He concludes with the following important observations :

"While the State must face its self-appointed task of saving life, it can no more, but rather less than on any previous occasion, undertake those supplementary reforms of relief which were so fully met by the charitable fund of 1896-97. The magnificent benevolence of the British and Indian publics enabled the Relief Committees in that year to supplement a Government expenditure of Rx. 7,272,123 by Rx. 1,549,901, or, say, 21 per cent. The need is now far greater, and it is impossible to believe that, if this is only realized here, the charity of this wealthy country will fail to respond to the call made upon it. It may stimulate this charity to lay before the public once more a brief statement of the objects that can be usefully covered by a Famine Charitable Fund, as revised by the Commission over which Sir James Lyall presided. Firstly, it may supplement the relief given by Government by gifts of clothing and blankets to the destitute, by supplying extra or special food and medical comforts for the aged and infirm and for hospital patients and children, and by adding a little to the Government dole to *purda* women and respectable persons driven to gratuitous relief. Secondly, it may provide for the support of orphans during and after famine. Thirdly, it may undertake the relief of persons or classes to whom the recognised methods of State relief are in-

applicable. These are *purda* women and respectable persons who shrink from the public inquiry inseparable from State relief; artisans and craftsmen, who are unable to come upon Government works; residents in private poor-houses, or the like, who would never come to public poor-houses; persons who would buy grain offered them at rates which they could pay, but would not accept charitable relief. Fourthly, and most important of all, it may assist the restart in life of those left by the famine without resources, who would otherwise lapse into pauperism. Fifthly, it may give relief in areas not officially declared to be affected areas. The first four of these heads were recognised in 1896-97, and the number of persons relieved under each was (1) 1,342,802, (2) 26,957, (3) 832,949, (4) 1,540,464. Testimony, say the Commissioners, is unanimous and overwhelming as to the incalculable good that was done, and as to the universal gratitude it evoked among the people. The need now is far more urgent. Surely the response will not lag behind the need."

For the number on the Relief Works see our Summary of Events.

NOTE ABOUT MUKUND BRAHMACHĀRI.*

SINCE writing about the tradition that Akbar was Mukund Brahmachāri in a former life, I have been to Allahabad and seen the underground temple in the fort, and been shown the brazen image of Mukund. I have also heard the *slok* repeated by the attendant at the shrine, and have learnt that the second word in the fourth line begins with a *b*, and not with a *z*, and is bratahāri, i.e., vratahāri, and means abandoning one's vows or losing the merit of one's asceticism. The story told me by the attendant was that Mukund was a great ascetic, and lived solely upon milk and fruits. The milk, too, he used to drink only after it had been strained through a cloth, presumably to avoid the risk of destroying life. One evening his *chela*, or disciple, gave him his milk as usual, but after he drank it Mukund felt something stick in his throat; so he called to his disciple and asked him if he had strained the milk. The disciple had to confess that he had forgotten to do so. Thereupon Mukund exclaimed that all the merit of his forty years of fasting was gone, and, having first gashed his throat, he performed the *hōma*, and was reduced to ashes. His disciples, two or three in number, followed his example, and the other things happened as told in Ilāh Yār's book. It was certainly interesting to find that the legend still lived, and that the *slok* and its chronogram were remembered. I asked if the legend was preserved in any writing, and was told that it was to be found in the Priyāg-Mahatma, and other Sanscrit MSS. The legend is evidently old, and Shams-al-Ulemā Muhammad Husain Āzād writes in his "Darbāri Akbari," Lahore, 1898, p. 84, that a number of Brahmans produced a document about Mukund before Akbar. Unfortunately, the learned author does not state his authority, and I have been unable to find the story in Badayūni or any other contemporary writer.

H. BEVERIDGE,

Calcutta, January 4, 1900.

* See "The Garden of Climes," January, 1900, pp. 145-162.

Since writing the above, I have secured Jonathan Scott's catalogue of his library, dated 1808. It is interesting because Scott gives an account of the contents of his MSS. The rarity of the catalogue, I think, justifies me in giving the following extract from the same :

"Huddeekat al Akaleem, or Garden of Regions or Climates, in three volumes.—The above work is a delineation, historical and geographic, of the world, as known to the Muhammadans, selected from their most esteemed writers. To the work is added an epitome of Salmon's Geographical Grammar, with a summary of the history of England and discovery of America, composed by myself in Persian at the request of the late Nabob Vizier, Asoph. ed Daule, who wished to be informed of our geographical system, etc.

"N.B.—The author of the 'Huddeekat al Akaleem' was Shekh Allah Taur, a native of Bilgram in the Province of Oude, of a most respectable family, but fallen to decay. In the year 1776, being cantoned in the neighbourhood, he was introduced to me as a Persian tutor, and proved himself an able one. Finding him very conversant in history, I requested him to compile a selection from the most esteemed Persian historians of Asia at his leisure hours for my perusal, but more especially of Hindustan. During eight years that he remained in my employment he composed this work, and when I left India, retired with a decent competence acquired in my service, to spend the remainder of his life in his native city.

"These volumes are in the author's own handwriting, and perfectly correct. I have learnt by gentlemen returned from India that the work is much esteemed, and copies eagerly sought after at Lucknow."—H. B.

INDIA—THE FATHERLAND OF IRON.

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* informs us that for purity and abundance the deposits of ore in India rank among the first in the world. Notwithstanding, "the almost complete extinction of a widespread native industry, in both common iron and the very choicest form of steel, has only recently been replaced by the organization of a small manufactory for pig-iron. With over 20,000 miles of railway, and an annual increment of nearly 700 miles, the Indian Government is unable to point to a single steel rail manufactured within their own territory. Over six millions sterling are spent yearly to supply the Indian market with iron and steel"; of this, "one-third of the iron and one-half of the steel come from countries other than the United Kingdom."

TRADE WITH THE FAR EAST.

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* points out that "the construction of the Grand Siberian Railway will develop trade enormously. It will connect Europe with a rapid and cheap route, and will afford the means of developing the resources of the vast territories through which it passes, and

by its connections will practically make Manchuria a province of Russia." The same authority considers that "the annexation of Hawaii will afford a half-way station between America and China, which will be of the utmost importance both from a commercial and a naval point of view." That "along with Cuba and the Philippines, it makes the United States a Pacific naval power." "That if Britain and the United States were co-operating in their policy, and if necessary in their forces, they could dominate the conditions in the Pacific area, and not only develop mutual advantages to both, but also advance the welfare of the immense populations bordering on the Pacific area."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

E. J. BRILL; LEYDEN.

1. *Histoire des Princes du Yün Nan, et leurs relations avec la Chine d'après des documents historiques chinois*, traduits pour la première fois, par EMILE ROCHER, Consul de France, etc. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the Shans were in occupation of the greater part of Yün Nan for the first thousand years of our era. They had to fight for their existence with the Tibetans and with China; they carried their arms into Tonquin; had relations with Burma, and even with Magadha in India. M. Rocher does not touch, however, upon the Siamese connection with Yün Nan. It was not until the time of Kublai Khan that this region was definitely annexed by China. It is very likely that some of the documents enumerated by the learned author in his introduction have been "translated for the first time;" and certainly his excellent work, "*La Province Chinoise du Yün Nan*," published in 1879, entitles him to rank amongst the earliest and best authorities, more especially as he himself resided for some years in the province before he gave us the results of his earlier experiences, and has visited it twice since. But the matter which he now sums up in another form has been treated of with quite as much detail in the *China Review* (vol. xix., pp. 67-106, "The Early Laos and China"; vol. xx., pp. 337-346, "The Old Thai Empire")—at least, so far as the period preceding the Chinese conquest is concerned. A few surprising slips are noticeable; for instance (p. 68), the confusion of the Chin or Kin dynasty, inaugurated by the ancestors of the Manchus in 1115, with the Ch'ing or Ts'ing dynasty founded by the latter Manchus in 1644; the confusion of Peking with Karakoram, etc. But these and others like them are insignificant in number and importance compared with the quality and value of the work as a whole, which is especially interesting at this time, when at least two European Powers are bent on "tapping" Yün Nan.

E. H. PARKER.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1898.

2. *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*; vol. iv., South and East Africa, by C. P. LUCAS, of the Colonial Office, London. The volume under review is only one, and the fourth, of a large series of volumes covering the British colonies all over the globe; it has a special interest at the present moment, as this volume describes the country and the history of the region which is now the scene of the war in South Africa. The volume itself has two parts: I. Historical; II. Geographical. It was published in 1898, after the Jameson-Raid, and before there was any indication of the great war about to commence. The writer closes his historical narrative with the following prophetic words: "At the time of writing (May, 1896) the clouds begin to lift; but the last chapter in South African history is not yet ended."

The author divides his history into eight chapters : I. The Cape, 1487-1650 ; II. The Founding of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape, 1652 ; III. The Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century ; IV. The Missionary Movement and British Immigration ; V. The Wars with the Kafir, or Xosa, Tribes ; VI. The Beginnings of Natal and the Boer Republics ; VII. The Growth of the English Cape Colony and Natal ; VIII. The Last Twenty Years, closing with the Jameson Raid.

Those, who have been interested in the history of this colony since 1837, the year of the Great Trek, will admit that the narrative is lucid, impartial, and most attractive. The author has had access to the Blue-Books, and all antecedent literature on the subject. Censure and praise are withheld, but perhaps in no history of a subject Province are there more instances of want of political wisdom, vacillation of purpose, or weakness than is evidenced in the conduct of the English authorities, and greater stupidity, and want of appreciation of the tendencies and influences of the age, in which they lived, than appears in the policy adopted by the Dutch settlers. The book must be read carefully through, chapter by chapter, and any condemnation of the weighty statements of the author would be useless unless this has been done.

The history of the colony is singular. After the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco de Gama in 1497, the Cape was only a port of call to ships going to and returning from India. It was only in 1869 that the opening of the Suez Canal took place, and that necessity ceased. Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English voyagers had made use of this port. In 1659 the Dutch made their first settlement. In 1806 the colony passed into the power of England, and the Dutch nation had fallen from their high estate into one of the petty kingdoms of Europe. In 1837 the Great Trek took place into unknown regions beyond the river Vaal, but in the course of years the English power extended Northward to the 'Zambesi, and a Western boundary was fixed to the territory of the two republics, as well as a Southern and Eastern. The Boers were hopelessly cut off from the sea-board except through British or Portuguese territory. The discovery of mines of diamonds and of gold led to an influx of Europeans, chiefly English colonists, and the final and inevitable crash came. All this is detailed in the historical part of this volume.

Part II. is reserved to the geographical description of the region, and each British Province passes under review : I. The Cape Colony ; II. Natal ; III. Zululand ; IV. Basútoland ; V. Bechuáland, Matabéland, and Mashónaland. The two republics, as being outside the area of British colonies, are excluded from notice in this part.

There are capital indices of proper names. The work is a very complete one, and can be strongly recommended.

R. N. CUST.

3. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, by the late SIR MONIER-WILLIAMS, M.A., K.C.I.E., late Boden Professor of Sanskrit. New edition, greatly enlarged and improved. The first edition of this

unique and celebrated work appeared in 1872; since then the author had devoted, up to the time of his death, much care and attention to its improvement. The proof-sheets were revised and completed before he died on April 11 last. It now consists of 60,000 Sanskrit words, to about 120,000 in the first edition, and by fitting the new matter into the old, according to the same etymological plan; by the verification of meanings old and new; in their justification by the insertion of references to the literature on the subject and to authorities; in the accentuation of nearly every Sanskrit word to which accents are usually applied; in the revision and re-revision of printed proofs, after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, the present magnificent work is virtually a new Dictionary. It is the most complete and useful one-volume Sanskrit-English Dictionary ever yet produced—a Dictionary which in its gradual progress keeps pace with the advancing knowledge and scholarship of the age. It does the utmost possible credit to the University Press.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1899.

4. *Bābar*, by STANLEY LANE-POOLE ("Rulers of India Series"). Another excellent book from the pen of this prolific writer. The nephew of that distinguished Arabist, Edward William Lane, keeps up the traditions of that honoured and trusted name. He has done, perhaps, more than any other living man to make the age and empire of the Mughals live again before us in this century. The present work is worthy of others that have proceeded from the same pen, and it shows that the author has realized to himself in quite an unusual manner the stirring events of the Asia of four centuries ago. All this must necessarily have been the result of profound thought, of careful discrimination, and very extensive research in many tongues. The description of Northern Persia in the days of Bābar, when contrasted with what we know the land now to be, shows vividly how in Persia in the centuries that have intervened between then and now "the mighty have fallen." One of the leading Muhammadans of Northern India once asked us, "How are we to account for the Mufliṣi of Muhammadans, for that social and political decay into which they are everywhere and in all countries fallen in these times? Christians," he went on, "once at the feet of the followers of Islām, are nowadays above us; the positions are reversed! How are we to account for it?" The question moved him deeply. The true answer may be found in the biographical narratives of the Mughal potentates. Bābar and Akbar were the saviours of their race and dynasty; but what shall we say of Humāyūn and Aurangzib! Bābar is rather a striking instance of religious back-sliding. In early life he consistently refrained from violating the injunctions of the Prophet respecting wine and certain kinds of butcher's meat; but as he grew older he gave way to all manner of excesses in these and other particulars—excessive eating, the immoderate use of hashish, arrack, opium, wine, and spirits. At what period of his life he began thus to deteriorate it is impossible to ascertain, but at the age of

thirty-six (1519) he is described as "a steady toper" (whatever that may be!). "The least thing," says Mr. Poole, "serves him as an excuse for drinking. He sets eyes on a lovely view, and has a drinking-party! The crops are uncommonly fine—another bout! He makes an early visit to Kābil's tomb—another cup! He has performed the noon-day prayers—yet another drinking-party! A tribute-offering arrives—he takes his bhang! He has his hair cut—another drinking-bout marks the event! And so the weary story goes on: it is now "bhāng and spirits," and now "spirits and bhang," until one's very stomach turns at the revolting narrative. But the narrative is taken from the diary of Bābar himself; and, as the writer of this volume remarks, "Bābar does not seem in the least ashamed of his excesses; on the contrary, he often winds up a tale of unconscionable revelry with the words, "It was a rare party!" or, "It was a wonderfully amusing and guileless party!" So far from being "ashamed" of these drunken excesses, he seems rather to have gloried in them. There was, moreover, quite a curious mixture of drunkenness and religion in Bābar. He never neglected the Farz-duty of Namāz, but habitually engaged in it—even in the midnight (or "supererogatory") prayers—in a state of senseless intoxication. So senselessly drunk was he that it often happened that he was afterwards quite incredulous when told how he had been behaving himself when "in his cups." After many years of this he comes to see the folly and shamefulness of his conduct. "He remembers with regret the joyous days he spent by the Kābul River, yet he is glad that he has had strength to reform." "Excuse me," he writes, "for wandering into these follies; for God's sake, do not think amiss of me for them!" But it is impossible to enter fully into the dreary story he gives of his excesses; those who care to do so can read the volume for themselves. This great founder of the Mughal Empire was quite a curious mixture of good and evil. His character, which was full of Oriental infirmities and contradictions, may be summed up briefly—brave, impulsive, but not gifted with much foresight. He was, as the author says, "ever running his head into difficulties; action first, the thinking afterwards"—the type of man to win empires, but not to consolidate them and insure their continuance. He was just of the sort of all great Muhammadan conquerors; they forge ahead in hard and desperate battles, and if the worst comes to the worst they take shelter in the fatalist's cry, "Nothing happens but by Allah's will." This is a useful book; it is well written, has a good index and map, and a likeness of Bābar pressing to his breast a copy of the Qur'ān.

B.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

5. *Prisoners their own Warders*, by MAJOR McNAIR, assisted by W. D. BAYLISS. This work is a record of the Convict Prison at Singapore in the Straits Settlements, established in 1825, discontinued in 1873, together with a cursory history of the convict establishment at Bencoolen, Penang, and Malacca from the year 1797. How to deal with criminals

(whether they be long-term or short-term criminals) is an age-long problem. A benevolent Government is not satisfied with merely punishing the offender: it desires to render his term of imprisonment a period of improvement to him, so that his punishment may act as a deterrent against further crime, and send him forth eventually an improved man, to be no longer a pest to civilized society and a menace to public order and safety; in a word, it aims at making the criminal a reformed character. If the system of prison life has not had this effect upon him, it has in his case proved a failure, and inasmuch as (human nature being what it is) incarceration cannot be ended, it ought to be mended. The difficulty is more felt in the prisons of a civilized community, like that of the homelands, where productive labour carried on in prisons means so much the less for the deserving and non-criminal classes outside. For much of the work done by criminals in the gaols of non-civilized lands is work that would not be done at all if not done by prisoners—in other words, by a species of forced labour. And thus is the labour of convicts in those lands made contributory to the work which has to be done in laying the foundation of a state of human existence which later on will develop into civilization. Thus does the criminal contribute (without intending to do so) his share towards a better condition of existence in the localities where he has to work out his term of penal servitude. Lands like the "Van Diemen's Land" and the "Botany Bay" of the earlier decades of the closing century serve to illustrate this remark, and the account given in the present work will afford the most recent confirmation of it. The great point is to get the criminal to feel interested in his work, and one way of gaining this desirable point is to lead him to see that his work tends to some useful purpose. Of course, there may be types of manhood which never seem responsive to such a motive, nor even to the prospect of foreshortening the term of imprisonment by ticket-of-leave. Failures there will always be in this as in every other department of life. But the authorities of British gaols, in whatever part of the world, may be relied upon to make every effort to bring about the best results, and to do it in the most effective manner and in the briefest space. The condition of incarcerated criminals has wonderfully improved since the publication of the enlightening work of the late Mr. Charles Reade, and much of the improvement of the prisoner's unhappy lot and of the ultimate advantages of our gaols to the law-abiding tax-payer is undoubtedly attributable to the influence of that noble work on the policy of our public men.* But, in truth, the subject of the proper treatment of Government convicts has for a century past engaged the attention of some of the most kind-hearted and gifted men that have ever been engaged in the public service. The result is that many of the forts, churches, gaols, law-courts, official residences, and other important public buildings now scattered over our Eastern possessions, have been the fruit of convict labour. And it is safe to say that they could never otherwise have been raised, since skilled European labour is not to be had. The result to the convict himself of

* We allude, of course, to his work entitled "*Never Too Late to Mend.*"

making him feel that he has a personal interest in his toil is that in the gaols of our Government in the Straits he learns an occupation at which he can earn an adequate maintenance, and when his time expires he even prefers to remain in the land of his exile to returning to the land of his birth; while to the cause of civilization the result is that places like Sumatra, Java, and the Malay Peninsula are changed from scenes of savagery and unreclaimed jungle to scenes of honest toil and comfortable existence. All this and much besides is abundantly proved in the most useful volume now before us. B.

6. *The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80: its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences.* By COLONEL H. B. HANNA, formerly of the Punjab Frontier Force, and late commanding at Delhi. Vol. I. The present volume deals with the first branch of the subject—the causes of the war; and the author lays bare, in a concise and clear manner, from despatches and other authentic documents, “the errors of judgment which had brought it about,” and “since those errors, crystallized into a policy, still persisted, and might any day involve India in hostilities with neighbours who, powerless to harm her whilst she confined herself within her natural limits, must become formidable as soon as those limits were overstepped,” hence the importance of the work. It is composed of eighteen chapters, dealing, among other subjects, with our relations with Afghanistan from 1855 to 1869, the negotiations with Russia, Sir Bartle Frere’s memorandum and its consequences, the inauguration of the new policy, the Peshawar conference, the Russian mission, the British mission, the mobilization, the ultimatum, the Russian-Afghan correspondence, the plan of campaign, the Quetta reinforcements, and the Multan, Kuram, and Peshawar Valleys Field Forces. There are also appendices containing the translation of a letter from the Kabul envoy to Sir Lewis Pelly (our Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary), and the proclamation by the Viceroy of November, 1878, and a very copious index. The reader will be convinced that, failing to grasp the great difficulties with which Shere Ali had to contend, the Governments at home blundered and vacillated, leading the several Viceroys to evade our pledges to the Amir, hence misunderstandings and the war. The author, from his personal experience and minute investigations, has come to the following important conclusion:

“Probably there was no British statesman in the ranks of either political party who would have been willing to sign away that freedom—*i.e.*, Great Britain’s ‘freedom to decide, in each complication that might arise, what line of action she would adopt’—and this being the case, the superiority of Lord Lawrence’s Afghan policy to that of his successors becomes apparent. Recognising, on the one hand, that the independence and integrity of Afghanistan were of importance, though not of vital importance to India—her security rested for him on far broader and stronger foundations—and, on the other, that the preservation of the former was the ruling passion of the Afghan people, and the maintenance of both the strongest desire of every Afghan Prince, Lawrence was prepared to give Shere Ali, in liberal measure, the means of defending his kingdom and upholding his

power, unaccompanied by pledges or conditions of any kind, since pledges and conditions were certain to lead to misunderstandings, and to suspicions and disappointments on both sides. Under this policy, the dispute between Persia and Afghanistan would have been settled by themselves, probably in favour of the latter State, certainly at an infinitesimal cost of life and treasure compared to the expenditure of both which was to flow from the British claim to determine the Amir's conduct towards his neighbours; and there could never have crept into Shere Ali's mind the feeling that he had been duped by fair words, out of which all meaning evaporated the moment he tried to ascertain what they were really worth to him; whilst the Indian Government would have been preserved from the temptation to encroach upon his independence on the plea of defending it. Under this policy, the full responsibility for his actions left to the Amir would have proved quite as effectual in withholding him from giving wanton offence to Russia, as the desire to merit British aid against her, and nothing in its principles and aims would have debarred the British Government from bestowing that aid, should the rendering of it at any given moment seem in accord with the best interests of India. Under the policy which Lord Northbrook found in force and had to continue—a policy which is generally supposed to have been identical with that of Lord Lawrence, but which really differed from it fundamentally—it was impossible for that Viceroy altogether to avoid the appearance of taking back with one hand what he gave with the other; and if Nur Mahomed, nevertheless, left Simla still convinced that Afghanistan might rely upon the Indian Government to stand by her against Russia in case of need, that conviction did not rest upon the definite promises now offered to his Sovereign, but on that natural community of interests between India and Afghanistan, in the presence of an ambitious and rapidly-extending neighbour, which had always existed, and must, in his opinion, always continue to exist—a community of interests which the pecuniary liberality recommended by Lord Lawrence would have sufficiently recognised and promoted."

We hope Colonel Hanna will be able to produce soon his second volume, which will no doubt prove as interesting and important as the first.

J. M. DENT AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

7. *Natal: the Land and its Story* (a geography and history, with maps), by ROBERT RUSSELL, Superintendent of Education, Natal. Great credit is due to the author for his concise account of the Colony of Natal (the Christmas Land, so called from its discovery on December 25, 1497, by Vasco da Gama), which has been, and is still, full of interest to us, in consequence of the important part it has played in the present war with the South African Republics. The war is not dealt with in its pages, but the volume is replete with valuable information, both historical and otherwise, and is, moreover, based on the personal observation of the author, who spent a long official life in the service of the Colony. The book contains eighteen chapters, which treat amongst other subjects Geology,

Mountains, Rivers, Climate, Productions of the Soil, Plants, People, Animals, etc. It has a good index, and also a useful map by Stanford, which has been drawn in the office of the Superintendent of Schools to accompany the school geography of the Colony.

DAVID DOUGLAS ; EDINBURGH, 1899.

8. *In Western India*, by DR. MURRAY MITCHELL. Although this work commences with an account of the author's school-days, it must not be regarded as an autobiography in the commonly accepted sense of that term. It is quite true that he notes the various points of his personal history as the narrative proceeds—his voyage to India, his marriage, his return visits to Scotland, and other matters of personal interest—yet to set forth a biographical account of himself is not by any means the author's purpose. On the subject of a man's writing and publishing memoirs of himself, Dr. Mitchell would probably share the aversion commonly felt by educated persons. The work is, in fact, a most interesting account of the proceedings of the Church of Scotland Mission in the Bombay Presidency from the year 1838, when the author joined it. When a many-sided man like Dr. Mitchell throws himself so completely into the public movements of his day and generation as *he* has done for more than sixty years, the history of his work is in great measure the history of his *time*. Men have to be estimated, movements come up for consideration, and we have before us a living panorama of a very active and progressive period. Viewed in this way, the present work, though the history of a missionary, may be of interest to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. For the Review is not a professedly religious periodical. But there are many matters in the volume that have to do with politics, law, ethnology, social customs, and other things, which will render the book very interesting not only to religious persons, but also to the general reader. The work of the Church of Scotland in India has been largely of an educational nature ; yet not by any means exclusively so, as this volume abundantly shows. No inquiry into the great subject of the effect upon India of English ascendancy there can be complete which overlooks the part enacted by the agents of missionary societies. For better, for worse, the societies are all represented there, and the present volume will show that they are there very much for the better. Dr. Mitchell has a pleasing style ; the tone and manner of his writing secure immediate attention and interest, and prepossess the mind of the reader in favour of his narrative. The book is a decided gain to missionary literature. B.

FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON, 1899.

9. *Rajah Brooke*, by SIR SPENCER ST. JOHN, G.C.M.G. The inspiring and profoundly interesting story of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, has by the enterprise of this public-spirited firm been now published in the "Builders of Greater Britain Series." As his story, which began in the second decade of the century, ended with his decease some two-and-thirty years ago, it is one with which the oldest now among us began to be

interested as long ago as we can remember. The story has many times been told, but it loses none of its thrilling interest and fascination in the work now before us. The Rajah is here viewed as "the Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State," and, indeed, he has rightly been assigned a place in a series of men like Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Clive. Never was the "knighthood" more appropriately conferred than when the Queen gracefully offered the honour for his acceptance in token of her appreciation of the services he had rendered to the prestige of the Empire among the barbarous islands of the Eastern Archipelago. The life-story of a man like Rajah Brooke necessarily contains many allusions to contemporary history, and to the men and doings of his time. This work is set forth in nine chapters, which are packed with information respecting the administration of those islands. The characteristics of Sir James Brooke—his manliness, his enterprise, his resourcefulness, his unselfishness, his beautiful tenderness and sympathy—were such as were bound to endear him to the hearts of Asiatics. Such a man secures their confidence and wins their loyalty. Young men who contemplate seeking a career in some portion of Asia could hardly do better than make a careful study of such a man as he, and read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the story of his inspiring life. The book contains a good index, and an appendix packed with information, and a portrait of the Rajah, whose countenance speaks of that shrewdness, promptitude, effectiveness, and wonderful kindness which were such clear marks of his character. No right-minded Englishman could rise from the perusal of this book without feeling his best impulses stirred, and without realizing afresh how grand is the opportunity which life among Asiatic peoples affords of living to high and useful purpose. B.

FORZANI AND CO., ROME; LUZAC AND CO., LONDON; 1899.

10. *Il Ce-Kiang, studio geografico-economico*, by DR. MARIO CARLI. This is an interesting account in Italian, as well as the latest work on the Chinese province of Che-Kiang. The author prefaces it with a historical introduction on the relations of foreign countries with China, more particularly as regards commerce. At one time one of the most populated and richest, although smallest of the eighteen provinces into which China proper is subdivided, it commenced to decline, and its decadence was accelerated in the middle of last century by a great famine, which was followed by the destructive invasion of the Tai-pings, and again by a terrible pestilence and another famine. The population was reduced from 32,000,000 to 5,500,000, but it has now increased to between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000. There are chapters on the principal rivers, the sea-coast, waterways, products, and an appendix giving the value of the exports and imports for the years 1895, 1896, and 1897. A very clear map accompanies this book.

HENRY FROWDE; LONDON, 1899.

11. *The Bride's Mirror; or Mir-âtu l-Arūs*, of Maulavi Nazir Ahmad, edited, in the Roman character, with a Vocabulary and Notes, by G. E. WARD, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, B.C.S. (retired).

The strict seclusion in which ladies are immured, by the tyranny of custom, among Muhammadan families has long operated as a great hindrance to their intellectual development. In poetry, no doubt, they have often been brilliantly distinguished, because *poeta nascitur, non fit*. And in tradition, too, they have held an honoured place, because, in the intimacy of family life, the wives and daughters of the Apostle and his companions necessarily enjoyed constant opportunities of hearing, directly or through some intermediary, the sayings of the revered Teacher. But in subjects requiring instruction from masters outside the family circle, women were obviously at a great disadvantage. A few, indeed, like the medieval Princess Khaula, who was sister of Saifu dDaula, Chief of Aleppo, a city and state in Syria, and died A.H. 352 (A.D. 963), and like the modern Princess Sikandar Begam, who was ruler of Bhopal, a state in Central India, and died A.D. 1868, might be enabled, by the accident of high position, and the possession of superior mental gifts, to show themselves the equals of men. But such gifts were so exceptional as almost to take their possessors out of the category of women; for Saifu dDaula's poet laureate, Al Mutanabbi, says of Khaula

وَأَنْ تَكُنْ خُلِقْتَ إِنِّى لَقَدْ خُلِقْتُ * كَرِيمَةً هَيْرَ إِنِّى الْعَقْلُ وَالْحَسَبُ

And, if she have been created female, assuredly she has been created noble, not feminine in reason and understanding. The vast majority of women passed through life destitute of even the very rudiments of education, though in some families, which attached particular importance to religious instruction, the girls were taught to read books of devotion. The *Bride's Mirror* marks a new departure in the education of native girls in Upper India, being a purely secular work—in fact, a novel—written by a Muhammadan gentleman of good family and liberal views for the instruction and amusement of his little daughters. Its fame having soon spread abroad in his Ward (*Mahalla*), some ladies from neighbouring houses would drop in to hear it read, and others would borrow the manuscript to read to their own families. And being eventually brought under the appreciative notice of Sir William Muir, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, now Principal of the Edinburgh University, it was awarded one of the valuable prizes recently instituted by that enlightened and sympathetic Administrator for the encouragement of original native literature. It had, indeed, a strong claim to such a prize, being, as its author states, "absolutely the first original work of its kind in the language." It is a novel descriptive of home life in families of the middle class among the Muhammadans of Upper India. It traces the careers of two girls, Akbari Khānam and Asghari Khānam, daughters of Dūrandesh Khān, who seems to have earned a comfortable income from some employment on the hills. The elder girl, Akbari, is married to a young man in her own rank of life, named Muḥammad ÷ Āqil, and the younger, Asghari, to his younger brother, Muḥammad Kāmil. At the commencement of their married lives, as the author points out (p. 53), the apparent advantages were all on the side of the elder sister. "Akbari was married at sixteen years of age, while

Aṣgharī at the time of her marriage was not even quite thirteen. When Akbarī was married, her bridegroom, Muḥammad ṭ Āqil, was already employed on a salary of ten rupees a month; while Aṣgharī's bridegroom, Muḥammad Kāmil, was still at school. In comparison with Muḥammad ṭ Āqil, Muḥammad Kāmil had less knowledge, and less intelligence too. Akbarī for two whole years remained free from the worry of children, while God made Aṣgharī a mother in the second year of her marriage, at such a tender age. Akbarī never had occasion to go outside the city, while Aṣgharī remained travelling for years. In no way, then, was Aṣgharī's condition good in comparison with Akbarī's condition; but Aṣgharī had been well trained from her youth upwards, and day by day prosperity increased in her house: so that no one knows even the name of Akbarī; while the mansion of the 'sensible daughter-in-law'—a nickname given to Aṣgharī—"in the 'Lady's Market' stands so high that it holds converse with the sky, and from the name of the lady Aṣgharī that Ward is known as the 'Lady's Market.'" The object of the story is to show how these changes in the fortunes of the two sisters were gradually produced by the differences in their training and characters. It must not be supposed that Aṣgharī's married life was unchequered by misfortune; on the contrary, she was afflicted with the loss of a son, Muḥammad ṭ Ādil, at the age of four, and of a daughter, Baṭūl, at the age of seven; and the book ends with a lengthy letter (pp. 176-184) from her father, Dūrāndesh Khān, exhorting her to patience and fortitude under her bereavement. This letter is very curious, because its exhortations are founded partly upon a dreary pessimism, and partly upon the immemorial fatalism of the East. "What certainty is there of this, that we shall live till our children grow up, or that they will live till we grow old?", which seems to recall Juvenal's melancholy description of old age:

"Ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
Funera natorum."

Again, "Whoever is born in the world, it is the immutable decree of God that he should die," which sounds like an echo of the sentiment expressed by the Arab poet 'Abd Allāh Ibn Az Zibā'rā al Ḳurashī as Sahmī aṣ Ṣahābī more than twelve centuries before:

فَإِنْ يَكُنِ الْمَوْتُ أَقْبَاهُمْ * فَلِلْمَوْتِ مَا تَلِدُ الْوَالِدَةُ

Then, if death have annihilated them, what the mother bears is for death! But of comfort, of consolation, of the hope of reunion with the departed child, there is not a trace. Indeed, the letter seems to lay down the cheerless doctrine that the closest relationship is for ever dissolved by death. "The world is not our home; we have to go and live in another place; no one belongs to us, nor we to anyone; if we be father of any one, it is only for a few days; and if we be son of any one, it also is only for a few days. If we see anyone die, what matter for regret is it?" How different is this tone of philosophical detachment from the touching defence offered by the founder of the Muhammadan faith for his own display of emotion over the death-bed of his infant son, Ibrāhīm: "Verily, the eye

sheds tears, and the heart grieves; but we say not aught but what may please our Lord; and verily we, by thy departure, O Ibrāhīm, are indeed grieved!"* The letter certainly makes an inartistic ending for the story, being out of harmony with its simple and natural tone.

The present edition of the *Bride's Mirror* is printed in the Roman character *in usum tironum*, being intended by Mr. Ward as a "text-book in Hindustani for English ladies who desire to study that language." It is furnished with a complete vocabulary, and with copious grammatical and exegetical notes. In order to give beginners a fair start, Mr. Ward considerably appends an English translation of the author's preface and introduction; and, for the profit and pleasure of advanced students, an elaborate note on the system of transliteration, including an interesting dissertation on the prosodical quantity of syllables in Hindustani, is provided. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the people and their language. The story raises the veil hiding the inner life of respectable native families from the gaze of foreign observers, and shows the people as they really are in their own homes; and the fact that its author belongs to a Delhi family is a guarantee for the purity and elegance of its diction. The vocabulary extends over nearly 300 columns, and any student who may learn to read this story with facility will have acquired a stock of words and idiomatic phrases amply sufficient for all ordinary colloquial and literary purposes.

There is a trifling misprint, "Who could I send?" for "Whom," in p. 26, note 1, otherwise the book is singularly free from typographical blemishes.

M. S. HOWELL.

G. HAESSEL; LEIPZIG.

12. *The Expedition of 1898 to Turfan*, part i., by D. KLEMENTZ and DR. RADLOFF. Encouraged by the important results which his courageous wife's discovery of Tunyukuk's monument secured, Mr. D. Klementz at once placed his services at the disposal of the Russian Government for the purpose of examining the old Ouigour capitals of Astana, Idikut-shari, Karahodjo, and Turfan, which, like the Burmese capitals of Sagaing, Ava, Amarapura, and Mandalay, are practically different "phases" of the same place. Turfan, according to the distinguished Russian savant, Dr. Bretschneider, means "residence" in Mongol, and probably also in Turkish. The word only came into use as the name of a seat of government about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols were being driven out of China; it does not once occur in Mongol history. The word Hodjo (to which the Mongols add the prefix "Kara") appears in the histories of the Cathayan and Nüchên dynasties which preceded in North China that of the Genghizides, in each case in connection with the Ouigours, who paid tribute to Peking in all three cases.

* The text of this tradition is given in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al Bukhārī (Krehl's edition vol. i., p. 328), where *يُحْزَن* is a misprint for *يُحْزَن*; and in other works. One version adds, "O Ibrāhīm, if 'twere not that it"—meaning the Divine revelation of the life to come—"is a true command and a faithful promise, and that the last of us shall overtake the first of us, we should grieve for thee more violently than this!"

For a detailed account of Mr. Klementz's discoveries, and for a connected history of mediæval Turfan, I must refer those interested to an extended notice in the next *China Review*. It will suffice to state here that Dr. Radloff has translated a number of old Turkish and Ouigour documents unearthed by the energetic explorer who conducted the expedition, and Mr. Klementz gives us numerous photographs and plates in order to illustrate what he has achieved. In their zeal for Asiatic archaeology and history, the Russian and French Governments and learned societies are distinctly ahead of ours, which for the present must take a back seat.

E. H. PARKER.

KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

13. *British Empire Series*, vol. i. This, the first volume of the series, deals with India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, British North Borneo, and Hong-Kong; and it contains a couple of excellent maps, the one exhibiting India, Burmah, and the trans-Himalayan portion of the Chinese Empire, and the other the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. The volume includes twenty-three lectures which were delivered at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, on Sunday afternoons during the years 1895 to 1898. The lectures were organized for the purpose of affording trustworthy information concerning the various colonies of our Empire in different parts of the world: four other volumes dealing with "British Africa," "British America," etc., will follow. The lecturers (who are all of them well-known persons in the world of literature) have been selected regardless of race or creed, and one of them is a lady, Mrs. Ernest Hart, already known to the public as the author of some useful works. The volume includes lectures on all the divisions of India, as well the Native States as the territories under European rule. All the lecturers go into more or less of detail (stating facts and supplying figures) concerning the different races which inhabit the various divisions treated of—their origins, their numbers, their languages, their occupations, their religions, etc. The essays do not err in respect of length, occupying, on an average, some five-and-twenty pages, nor are they any of them tedious. Besides essays on the several geographical and political divisions of the country, we have also essays on the condition of women-folk among the different races of the community, on the various industries of the people, on the administration of justice, on the history and treatment of famines, and on other matters of public importance. The papers on the Straits Settlements and the other portions of the Empire dealt with take up in a similar manner the public questions connected therewith, showing the general advance of our Asiatic colonies and dependencies since the times when they respectively passed into the possession of the Crown. There are also papers on ancient India and on the India of pre-Mutiny times. And upon the whole the volume may be said to include the history of India and the neighbouring colonies from the earliest times to the present.

The essays are well written, well edited, and well printed. They are not of the "dry-as-dust" description; they are more in the style of the article of the popular review—in the manner of the popular lecture prepared for a miscellaneous London audience. The work is invaluable as a repertory of trustworthy and up-to-date information regarding the lands of which it treats. The writers are persons who may each be regarded as an authority in the department on which he writes. Men like Sir Raymond West, Lord Wenlock, and Sir Andrew Clarke (not to exhaust the list) are men whose reputation as administrators and as penmen is already made, and who would have much to lose by inaccuracy as to facts and unsoundness in reasoning. The work is pleasant reading, and interesting withal. It is an admirable work for statesmen and politicians, and is well fitted to be placed in the hands of young men about to seek their life-sphere in the higher walks of our country's service in the Far East. The absence of an index of any sort or kind will detract from the usefulness of the book as a work of reference (for it is as such that it will be mainly used); but it is already a thick volume—about 550 pages all told—and this doubtless led to the omission. But if, even now, a good index could be added, it would enhance greatly the usefulness of a most valuable work. B.

KELLY AND WALSH; SHANGHAI.

14. *Map of China and the Surrounding Regions*, by E. BRETSCHNEIDER. Second edition, thoroughly revised, sold by Illin, St. Petersburg. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1896 (p. 195) published a report upon this excellent English map, which can, as before, be obtained at Stanford's. Dr. Bretschneider's splendid labours in the Sinological field have since obtained for him the well-merited honour of election to be a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and also the gold medal of the Russian Geographical Society. The revised edition is coloured, and is thus brighter to the eye and easier for consultation than before. The Russian, German, and British direct "spheres" in the north are marked off; but apparently the engraver's plates were cut before the corresponding French and English spheres in the south were delimited. The defective parts noticed in the first edition about the Burmese and Tonquinese frontiers have been remedied; and the recent railways have been added so far as they were completed when the map was ready for publication. I have had the first edition in daily use for nearly four years, and have found it extraordinarily accurate and vividly illustrative. What is badly wanted now is a reduced English map *on the same scale* of the Manchurian and Tibeto-Mongolian regions, for the full-sized Russian maps, though as perfect as possible, are useless to those who cannot spell out a few words of Russian. No one is more competent than Dr. Bretschneider to undertake this duty, and no one in Europe possesses in a higher degree the general public confidence.

E. H. PARKER.

E. LEROUX ; PARIS.

15. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, traduits et annotés par EDOUARD CHAVANNES, vol. iii., part ii., chaps. xxiii.-xxx. The first volume of this admirable series was ably noticed by the late Mgr. Harlez in an earlier number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. It dealt with the author's explanatory introduction to the great work of the Chinese historian, and carried the text of early history down to the Emperors of the Chou Dynasty. The second volume, even more interesting to the general reader so far as the translation from Chinese texts is concerned, brings us to the reign of the Han Emperor King Ti, including those exciting periods when China practically discovered Corea, Annam, Tibet, and Western Asia. The first part of the third volume consists of a number of dry genealogical and dynastic tables, which, though of course indispensable for reference, are not exactly fitted for the average man's consumption. The fourth volume (*i.e.*, the second part of the third) treats of Rites, Music, Astronomy, Finance, Religion, and so on, and forms a sort of basis on the lines of which nearly all subsequent histories follow. The gigantic work of translating word for word, annotating, and explaining the first real Chinese history is thus proceeding apace, and it is devoutly to be wished that the courageous and self-sacrificing author who has undertaken this enormous task, and whose health has already once broken down under the strain, may be spared to carry it to completion. It is exceedingly unlikely that anyone else will ever undertake a rival translation, so that M. Chavannes may rest quite secure of a future exclusive niche in the Temple of Fame; but it may be hoped that others will emulate his example, and similarly translate word for word the *other* twenty-four dynastic histories, each in turn: scarcely one of these has had more than a chapter or two given to the European public, but all of them bristle with the most interesting and surprising pieces of information, studded about, without clue or index, in a mass of turgid and often irrelevant matter. It is impossible to speak too highly of M. Chavannes' work; the only thing to do is to lay stress on the fact that anyone who can read French has now the whole of early Chinese history before him; and can form his own opinion upon it without having to depend upon experts in Chinese, who are rather apt to overrate their own importance.

E. H. PARKER.

LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1899.

16. The *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* and the *History of the Likeness of Christ which the Jews of Tiberias made to mock at*; the Syriac texts edited, with English translations, by WALLIS BUDGE, D.LIT. This work consists of vols. iv. and v. of Luzac's "Semitic Text and Translation Series." The former of the two volumes contains the Syriac text, and the latter the translation. The texts, Dr. Budge tells us in his preface, were edited from two modern MSS. in his own possession. The MS. from which the "History of the Virgin" is extracted was copied for him by the deacon at Alkōsh in 1890, from a MS. of the

thirteenth or fourteenth century; and the other MS., containing the "History of the Likeness of Christ which the Jews of Tiberias made to mock at in the days of the Emperor Zeno" (and which is entitled "Histories of the Apostles and Saints and Martyrs"), was copied for him in 1892 by a man who lived in Tel Kēf, a village situated two or three hours' ride from Mosul. To the text of the former of the two histories he has appended a large number of variant readings taken from a MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Syriac is very beautifully printed, and there is at the end of the text a careful table of corrections.

By the Syrian translators the books were styled "Histories," but they manifestly belong to the very large section of Syriac literature which contains the Apocrypha of the New Testament. They take us back to the times when many of the myths connected with the Virgin and Child originated and gained currency and credence. Thus, we read of Jesus "turning children into goats," also of His "releasing a man from a serpent which had been coiled round him three years," and many such-like fables, a perusal of which tends, as much as anything well could, to establish the superiority of the books of the Canon to anything discoverable in the Apocryphal books. Those who are in any degree acquainted with the history of doctrine and dogma in the second century of the Christian era (in which century so many of the myths and errors originated that have tended to obscure the Gospel narrative and bring it into contempt) will be in a position to appraise at their proper value the myths recorded in the documents here put into English dress. As Dr. Budge well says: "A perusal of the work will convince the reader that the object of the writer throughout has been to magnify the importance of the Virgin Mary and to describe her miraculous power; in short, it represents the popular views which were held by devout but unlettered people concerning the earthly life of the Virgin and Child." Incidentally, of course, such a work affords confirmation of the narrative of the Nativity as recorded in the Canonical books of the Bible which we possess. Although such confirmation is not at all needed in these days, yet anyone who accepts those books as containing the bases of his religious belief is always rejoiced at any indication which modern research brings to light that the literature of the earlier centuries is not found to be antagonistic to the historicity of the Christian faith, but distinctly tends to confirm it. Thus will the present work be helpful to those who are interested in what is technically known as "Apocryphal" lore. Not only in the first volume, but also in the second, there are throughout important footnotes, chiefly of the nature of emendations, parallel readings, and alternative renderings. B.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

17. *Malay Magic: being an Introduction to the Folk-lore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula*, by WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, C.S., of the Federated Malay States, with a Preface by CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN, M.R.A.S., and formerly of the C.S., Straits Settlements. This work of nearly

700 pages will be of much interest to psychologists, and important not only to those who have the control and education of the natives of the Malay Peninsula, but also in placing in a permanent form many of the beliefs and notions which are rapidly passing away by the introduction of Western civilization and learning. The originals are placed in an appendix, by which the author's translation may be verified, and a copious index will guide the reader to every detail which the volume contains.

Mr. Blagden, in the preface, truly observes that "an understanding of the ideas and modes of thought of an alien people in a relatively low stage of civilization facilitates very considerably the task of governing them, and in the Malay Peninsula that task has now devolved mainly upon Englishmen"; hence the importance of this work.

The author has been at pains to corroborate and illustrate his own accounts by the independent observations of others, and records the charms and other magic formulæ which are actually in use, and which he has himself observed. Moreover, he has endeavoured, in his translations, to keep to literal accuracy of rendering.

The volume is composed of six chapters, and among other interesting subjects there are those on the Creation of the World; Man and his Place in the Universe; his Relation to the Supernatural World; the Malay Pantheon; Magic Rites connected with the Natural Kingdom, such as weather and bird charms, beasts, vegetation and mineral charms; also the sea, rivers, and streams, and fire and its production. The concluding chapter relates to the Magic Rites affecting the Life of Man, such as birth, spirits, and ceremonies, betrothal and marriage, funerals, medicine, war and weapons, and many other particulars affecting human life.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON.

18. *Nigeria: Our Latest Protectorate.* By CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, M.A., Canon Missioner of Ripon, and Lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge. With map and illustrations. A remarkable racy volume of a very interesting people, numbering 25,000,000, now added to the population of the British Empire. The author traces the history of the people, and considers them as distinct from those of Ashanti, Benin, and the hinterland of Sierra Leone, as is the cultured Bengali from the Aboriginal races to be found in some of the mountain districts in India, and comparatively having every right to be regarded as a civilized nation. He narrates his experience in the country, its habits and customs, the excellent work of the Royal Niger Company, his missionary enterprise, the results of the investigation as to the origin of malarial fever, the writings and traditions of the natives, and the results which are expected to follow the recent Anglo-French treaty.

The following description of the crocodile will illustrate the author's style and humour. He says: "Another creature, which forms quite a distinctive feature of West African river scenery, is the *crocodile*, or alligator. Quantities of them are to be seen on the Niger and the smaller rivers in Nigeria. Except in the event of the traveller's canoe upsetting,

or of his being rash enough to bathe or to approach the river in the dark, no danger is to be anticipated from their presence. They are usually to be seen lying half asleep on the mud banks. On the approach of a canoe, the crocodile winks one of its eyes to ascertain whether the traveller is meditating an attack, and on being satisfied on this point, relapses into its former somnolent condition. If we are to accept the latest accounts given by naturalists, the crocodile ought to be regarded as one of the most useful of animals; and the ancient Egyptians were not quite so foolish as is usually thought when they showed their affection for the crocodile by embalming it. The *British Medical Journal*, in discussing the advisability of stocking the Thames with crocodiles, says: 'That much-maligned reptile, the crocodile, is, in fact, a friend of man, though he tries—generally with success—to hide a sentiment of which, perhaps, he is ashamed as a weakness. He is an active sanitarian, his special line being the purification of rivers and lakes. With such a certificate of character from them, perhaps some of our river conservancies may be stimulated to secure the services of a few vigorous crocodiles. With these in our rivers, the difficult problem of water-purification might be finally solved.'

On the question of religious beliefs, Mr. Robinson is of opinion that before the close of the present century heathenism will be practically extinct on the continent of Africa. The whole population will be either nominally Christian or nominally Mohammedan. Chapter XIII. contains a striking forecast of the religious future of Africa, and in doing so gives a summary of the present condition, and the immediate prospects of Islam throughout the Sudan generally. This interesting volume is accompanied with an excellent map of Nigeria, and many very beautiful illustrations of Hausas, their villages, their rivers, their canoes, articles of dress, and various utensils and implements.

J. C. NIMMO; LONDON, 1900.

19. *Babylonians and Assyrians*, by the REV. A. H. SAYCE. This work, from the pen of the distinguished Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, on the life and customs of these ancient peoples, is now published in "The Semitic Series." The published works of Professor Sayce are so well known, as also is his great fitness for the enterprise for which he is best known among students of Biblical antiquities, that he needs no word of commendation at this time of day. His name is familiar to us all, and he has made us all his debtors. The present work—a work in upwards of 270 pages—is a very informing work. It throws some welcome light on quite a variety of subjects—not only on the subject of ancient brick-making (which, by the way, appears to be a lost art among us moderns), but also on the early history of banking, of the postal system, and sundry other industries. When the time comes when each several trade shall have its published "history," such volumes as the present will be found to be useful quarries from which authentic information may be culled. The work contains also much curious and recondite information respecting the social and political manners and customs of the Accads and other

early races whose very existence is apt to be regarded as problematical, if not altogether mythical. And upon the whole the general effect of the work is to justify the confidence of the Jewish believer in the authenticity and veracity of the Scriptures of the Old Testament Canon. The work is well and carefully written. The style of the author carries one involuntarily back into the dim antiquity of the races and countries of which he writes, and makes the men of that remote age live over again in our imagination while we read. The work is very vividly written, and is not by any means so dry as works on antiquarian subjects are usually felt to be. It affords evidence that some of the things that are generally accounted "primæval" are only such in the sense that we know not anything about them, that the term "prehistoric" means, not before there was anything to write, but merely anterior to such knowledge as we possess. Much of the credit of the discovery of this important fact is due to the untiring and fruitful labours of Professor Sayce himself. Evidence in support of what we have thus said will appear from the bill-of-fare set forth in the contents-page. In treating of the manners and customs of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, he takes up such subjects as the Family, Education, Slavery and Free Labour, Wages and Prices, Houses and Land, the Money-lender, Government and the Army, the Law, Trades, Epistolary Correspondence, Weights and Measures, Religion, and other matters; and he seems to talk as familiarly of these details of those far-remote times as one might of similar details of our own day and generation. The book has certainly helped the subject forward, and placed our knowledge of it on a higher level than it was before, and the distinguished author has placed all Orientalists under an additional obligation to him.

B.

 ORIENTAL PRESS; SHANGHAI.

20. *Le Haut Yang-tsze*, by REV. S. CHEVALIER, S.J. Also the *Atlas du Haut Yang-tsze*, by the same author. The Russians and the French leave us hopelessly behind in the matter of Oriental research, especially in the fields of history and cartography. The above magnificent publications are a continuation of the "Navigation à Vapeur sur le Haut Yang-tsze," issued by the reverend and learned author in the early part of last year, and already noticed in the *China Review*. The works now under notice consist (1) of a fascicule of sixty quarto pages, giving a personal narrative of a steamer voyage from Shanghai to Ichang (calling at intermediate ports), and a junk voyage from Ichang to Chungking; and (2) of thirty-eight sheets (*i.e.*, double folio) on the scale of $\frac{1}{250000}$, showing the whole of the Yang-tsze River, including, of course, the gorges between Ichang and Chungking. Each chart indicates both Paris and Greenwich longitudes, and gives all names in both French and English forms. English being now incontestably the leading language for commerce, the French, as the Russians, are now wisely publishing as many treatises as possible in such form as to be easily available to Englishmen and Americans, and, for the matter of that, also to Germans, Italians, etc. As I have been over every

inch of the ground covered by these thirty-eight charts, I naturally look back with wistful interest to my travels and native surroundings of twenty years ago, and regard every rock, rapid, eddy, or sand-bank as an old acquaintance. Père Chevalier being both a Chinese scholar and an astronomer of European distinction, it of course follows that his present labours entirely supersede from a scientific point of view those of Blakiston and the British Admiralty, undertaken at times and under conditions less favourable to perfect accuracy; armed with these charts alone, a light-draught steamer or gunboat could "go anywhere and do anything." The splendid miscellaneous work done by the Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai during the past ten years has been frequently commented upon with gratitude and admiration, and these most recent labours of Père Chevalier are a fitting sequel to the invaluable researches of such noble collaborators as Descheverens, Haude, David, Zottoli, Boucher, and many others, whose illustrious names now stand out quite on a par with those of their distinguished colleagues of 200 years ago, such as Schaal, Verbiest, Gerbillon, Visdelou, Ricci, Premare, etc. It is inconceivable that any British naval officer should be allowed to take his vessel higher than Ichang without being provided with Père Chevalier's charts, which may be procured from Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai; if he is, then Lord Charles Beresford should be at once started on the hue and cry. There are yet due the second parts of the narrative and the mapping, which will take us from Chungking to P'ing-shan on the Yün Nan frontier; it is to be devoutly hoped that the author will be vouchsafed health and strength to bring them to a speedy completion.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LIMITED; LONDON.

21. *Siberia and Central Asia*, by JOHN W. BOOKWALTER. Second edition, with a map. This handsome and exceedingly well-got-up volume is the outcome of a trip by the author through Siberia and Central Asia. He undertook the journey to see and judge for himself with respect to the various questions involved in what is called the "Eastern Question." Exceptional privileges having been granted to him, his observations are minute and important, not only to the politician, but also to the commercial and travelling public. The 500 pages of letterpress are adorned with nearly 300 well-executed illustrations from photographs taken by the author himself. There is also a very copious index, and a clear and distinct map, not overcrowded by names of towns, villages, rivers, and mountains, showing the present vast extent of Russia in Asia and adjacent countries. The author considers that by-and-by a trip from Moscow to Vladivostock may be made with the greatest comfort in eight or nine days, and that it is not improbable within the next ten years a continuous trip may be effected from Paris to Peking, a distance of over 8,000 miles; and if the route does not prove to be the most comfortable and interesting in the world, it will not be the fault of the Russian Government.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LIMITED, LONDON ; BOSTON :
SMALL, MAYNARD AND CO., 1899.

22. *America in Hawaii: a History of United States Influence in the Hawaiian Islands*, by EDMUND JAMES CARPENTER. This is a history of the Archipelago from the time of its discovery by Captain Cook in January, 1778, down to August, 1898, when the American flag was raised at Honolulu by Admiral Miller, and the sovereignty of the United States proclaimed. The author has succeeded in tracing the growth of American influence and sentiment in these islands from their origin to their culmination in annexation. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," by James Jackson Jarves (Boston, 1843); "A Brief History of the Hawaiian People," by Professor W. D. Alexander, of Honolulu. Among other very interesting information there are chapters on the Primitive State of the Inhabitants, the Arrival of the Missionaries, Foreign Aggressions, and the Sugar Industry. The concluding chapters deal with the diplomatic and political phases of the Hawaiian Question, derived from official and other authentic sources.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

23. *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India*, by JAMES DOUGLAS, J.P., late Sheriff of Bombay. The author has rendered great service by publishing in a permanent form, in a very handsome volume, his researches on the social aspects of Bombay during a century back; the banks and its merchants; its clubs; its ancient and historical places, fast disappearing by improvements and otherwise. He has contrived in a pleasant manner to place it on record far more endurable than stone and lime, liable to be removed by the voracious appetite and taste of the builder. Mr. Douglas's work will be read with much interest, and we anticipate that his investigations will encourage the rising generation to follow up his researches, which to him have been a labour of love for many years; at all events, his stories of olden time will both refresh the memories of old Indians and add much to the historical knowledge of Bombay and Western India.

SANDS AND CO. ; LONDON.

24. *Picturesque Kashmir*, by ARTHUR NEVE. The author of this interesting work presents his readers with a mass of miscellaneous information which he gathered during an eighteen years' residence in Kashmir, as medical missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and in which capacity he was brought into contact with all classes, from His Highness the Maharajah downwards. The theme of the book, however, is concerned rather with the wild grandeur of nature than with the description of the people.

The traveller nowadays has no difficulty in getting from India to Kashmir, for he dashes through the deep valley of the Jhelam in a tonga

(hill-cart) at the rate of eight miles an hour, and thus does in two days what his predecessors required a fortnight to do. The rapidity of the transition may perhaps make the scenery appear in a general way more striking, but there is no leisure to linger over the details of its beauty. The author, with his keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, makes the book abound with picturesque descriptions. We quote from page 8 : "It is not yet sunrise, and the distant peaks look pale blue against the lemon-yellow eastern sky ; the nearer hills are deep indigo, with here and there lighter tints, where wreaths of smoke rise from the numerous hamlets hidden away in the jungle ; in the plain are fields of ripe corn partly cut. Swiftly ascending the low hills, one soon reaches a different atmosphere ; the stately *Pinus longifolius* covers the slopes, and maidenhair ferns cling to the rocks. Before noon the traveller is at Murree, and he may be enveloped in clouds, and feel the damp chill of the mists which roll through the dark forests of oak, horse-chestnut, deodar, and cypress. From the ridge one gets a glimpse of the plains far below, where toilers are sweltering in the sultry noon, and then in front comes the expected view of the mountain ranges. The snowy line of the Pir Panjal stands up like a wall far away to the east, overlooking the billow-like masses of the outer hills. In early summer snow covers the summits as well as the hollows, where a few small glaciers linger. The range is remarkably even in height, none of the peaks exceeding 16,000 feet, while few are below 14,000 feet. At intervals there are great rock masses which stand out on the Punch side like huge bastions."

Srinagar, the "City of Sun," he calls one of the most picturesque cities of the world. Situated on the banks of a broad river, and dominated by the Takht-i-Suleiman Hill, its situation is certainly most striking.

The author tells us all about Kashmir's beautiful lakes with floating gardens, its limpid springs adorned with marble tanks, its lovely pleasure gardens, such as the Nishat Bagh with its park of splendid planes ; Shalimar and its fine summer-houses, where Jehangir and Nur Jahan are said to have gone for rest from the cares of State ; and the Nasim Bagh sloping to the water edge of the Dhal Lake, and of which Jehangir declared that "the beauty of the reflections and the colouring of the water by reason of the flowers and water-lilies exceeded anything he had read of in the descriptions of paradise." Thence the famous saying : "Agar Firdus ba-rū-i-zamin ast, hamin ast u hamin ast ?"

We read about the specimens of ancient architecture to be found in Kashmir—the temples of Martand, Payech, etc.—dating as early as 220 B.C. ; the beautiful plateaus of Sonamarg and Gulmarg—"Meadow of Roses" ; the sacred cave of Amarnath, over 13,000 feet above the sea, to which great pilgrimages take place every year, when thousands of Jogis and Sadus congregate from all parts of India. The great Himalayan god is represented by a block of ice projecting from the back of the cave. The author also describes the land of the Lamas. But we must commend our readers to peruse for themselves this fascinating book, and to admire its beautiful illustrations in platinographs by Mr. G. W. Millais.

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO.; LONDON.

(Printed at the M.D.C.S.P.C.K. Press, Madras.)

25. *Judaism and Islām*, by ABRAHAM GEIGER. This work is a translation of a prize essay originally written by the learned Geiger, a Rabbi of Wiesbaden, and first published in 1833. It was translated from the German of Geiger by a member of the Ladies' League in aid of the Delhi Mission of the Gospel Propagation Society. The translation was undertaken by Miss F. M. Young, of Bangalore, at the request of the Rev. G. A. Lefroy of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, who thought that an English translation of Geiger's work would be of use in connexion with missionary work among Muḥammadans. The effect of the work is to prove what has so often been proved before—that the author of the Qur'ān was indebted for much of his information to the Scriptures of the Jews. The result is a handy little volume of about 170 pages of good print. Throughout the work there is a great deal of Hebrew and Arabic at the foot of the pages. The Qur'ān is very largely quoted, and the translation of the quotations into English forms the main portion of the work. The whole of the subject-matter is so arranged as to prove the point which Dr. Geiger set out to prove, and in the result we have what will be found to be a very helpful work to English and American missionaries all over the world whose sphere of labour is among the followers of the Prophet of Arabia.—B.

26. *The Transvaal Boers: a Historical Sketch*, by AFRICANUS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, with map of South Africa. We are pleased to observe that a second edition of this concise and admirable sketch has been called for. It contains an excellent introduction, in which the author truly says: "The average reader who has not had occasion to specialize will not, I think, be able to find a summary of Transvaal history in any one book, and I hope this publication will fill a gap." "The changes of Ministry in England, the ignorance or carelessness of home politicians, and the apathy of the home electorate, have from time to time thrown South African affairs into a crucible. The Liberal record is rather worse than the Conservative, and to say that is to say a good deal; but I have no party object in writing this book." "There are some signs that this state of things is coming to an end, and that we intend to keep our word in future." "I am quite certain that the average British citizen has not the least idea of the effect produced on our colonies and elsewhere by the oscillation of our electoral machinery." The author writes with personal knowledge of South Africa and its people, and the public can find no better sketch than this impartial and concise historical record.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON.

27. *The Moorish Empire: a Historical Epitome*, by BUDGETT MEAKIN, some years editor of the *Times of Morocco*, author of "The Moors," "The Land of the Moors," etc., with 115 illustrations. This work, consisting of more than 570 pages, with well-executed illustrations of subjects ancient and modern, with copious index, chart, and maps, is an exhaustive history

of the Moorish Empire in its various phases, from the earliest historic times to the present day. The author has divided his book into three parts—the first treating of internal development; the second, external relations of the empire; and the third literature, reviewing shortly the numerous works that have appeared both in history and in fiction, its journalism, such as it is, works recommended to be read, and an appendix of the classical authorities on Morocco. In short, the author has spared no labour and research to produce a standard work upon a region of the world comparatively little known, even in these days of expeditions and explorations. The spirit in which the author has performed his task is evinced by his concluding remarks. He says: "To trace the threads of the existing Moorish fabric back into the staple of the past; to notice the converging gossamers which in due time united, forming the *weft* and *woof* of the nation; to observe the strengthening strands of racial tendencies extended on the loom of the Moroccan hills and plains; to mark the interlacing of those strands as to and fro the shuttle plied—of outside influences, foreign interests, and the desire for mutual protection; to mark with admiration how each tender filament, so fine as sometimes to be imperceptible without the aid of science, went to form the pattern which the great Creator had designed—all this was full of interest: the very labour of the task repaid itself."

The author considers that the political future and development of Morocco depends, like Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, not upon "native movements, but upon foreign interests." In Morocco he considers that, "notwithstanding actual independence, the present state of affairs has induced a condition practically analogous. The fate of the Moorish Empire depends on the fate of Europe as truly as if it were reduced already to a provincial level . . . the factors which control its future are to be sought outside the country, not in it. So long as Morocco is left alone, its people will murmur and seethe; but they will neither destroy themselves, nor willingly submit to others."

The chapter on Foreign Rights and Privileges, the outcome of treaties, is of great importance, as they bear upon security of person and liberty in transactions; jurisdiction and irresponsibility of consuls; rights to places of business, churches, and graveyards; individual responsibility; admission of strangers under an allied flag; transportation of stores and merchandise; the exportation of unsold goods; and various other subjects affecting the merchant, traveller, or foreign resident. We most cordially and strongly invite the attention of our readers to this most interesting, valuable, and important work.

28. *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, by B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. This is a praiseworthy and on the whole successful attempt to lay before English readers a succinct account of the origin and growth of village communities in India, as well, in order to render these intelligible, as a description of the very varied tenures under which the villages and estates under their control and management are held, with their relations to the State. To enter fully into the details of

the matters discussed by the author would necessitate the extension of this article almost to the size of the book itself. For an account of the state of village matters before 1870, and a general view of the agricultural races of India, the peculiarities of the latter affording in most cases a clue to the constitution of the communities themselves, we must accordingly refer our readers to Mr. Baden-Powell's volume, and will in this place confine our attention to Chapter V., which describes the Indian village as it is, and points out the distinction between what the author entitles the *severalty* and the *joint* villages.

The *severalty* village, with the sub-heading of *raiayatdri*, is defined to be one in which the ownership is in the form of independent holdings, and there is no acceptance of a joint responsibility for the revenue and expenses, and no joint ownership of the village site or any adjacent waste area. It is also said to be managed by a hereditary headman, but to this, although such is the general rule, it should be noted that there are occasional exceptions, as in the Southern Talúkas of the Surat (Súrat) Collectorate, where in the early days of our rule it was a settled policy, with a view to lessen the mischievous influence of certain Desais, originally mere farmers of the revenue who had practically usurped the ownership of the villages, to appoint stipendiary Patels or headmen, the custom being continued to the present day. The original villages were, as Mr. Baden-Powell says, constituted at a time when the people lived in tribes and clans, so that the first organized villages were settled by little sections of clans, when, it may be remarked, this was not accomplished by a single influential leader, whose descendants subsequently apportioned the lands amongst themselves according to their customs. As time went on, fresh villages would be started by smaller offshoots from the parent villages, sometimes as mere hamlets (*purá* or *pará*, whence the frequent termination of names of towns in *pur*, etc.), from the latter, and in the first instance under their jurisdiction, subsequently to split off under defined boundaries, and become separate units. These boundaries, as noted at the foot of page 61, are matters of the greatest importance in village life, and disputes with regard to them in former days frequently led to feuds and bloodshed. In Kolarian, and probably in Dravidian and other tribes, village lands were cultivated in common, and the proceeds shared as long as the degrees of consanguinity of the villagers remained sufficiently close to admit of a family understanding in the community, but as the number increased and intermarriage with outsiders tended to widen and loosen those ties, the principle of joint ownership was gradually lost sight of and fell into disuse, leaving only a trace in some instances in the right of individuals descended from the original founders' families to hold lands on more favourable terms than their fellow-cultivators, as in the case of *Japti kherus* (permanent tillers) in Gujarát, and of *Dhárðkaris* and others in the Khoti villages in the Konkan.

The description thus given of *severalty* villages naturally applies also to many that have become *joint* owing to the force of circumstances, as, for instance, in the case of the *Khoti* villages in the Southern Konkan. The

original *Khotis* were merely farmers or grantees of the right to levy revenue on the part of the State; these, being men of influence and wealth, probably, became, *more Indico, quasi* proprietors, and divided the village lands into shares for revenue purposes, leaving only the more substantial original tenants with rights of permanent occupancy adverse to their own, and liable to no heavier payments in kind or cash than the farmers themselves paid.

The constitution of *joint* villages is said, no doubt correctly in the majority of instances, to be due to difference of peculiarities among the races to which their original foundation can be traced. The joint owners may share the estate in various ways. The first great distinction is that in one large class the present holders are a body descended from one man, or a number of near connections going back to one original ancestor, who at some time or other obtained the lordship or superiority, having obtained their present position through the principle of the Hindu joint family, according to which on the death of the single lord or joint lords all the male agnates succeeded together according to their place in the table of descent. In these cases, in reality, a much expanded family dominates the village, and (in some cases with the adventitious admission of strangers, as in the *Bhāgdāri* villages in the Bharūch Collectorate which are held by men of different castes) now constitutes the community. In a second class the villages represent the fission of a whole clan or tribe, and in a third they may have come together by voluntary association; the latter of these cases, however, must be rare, and can only have arisen under the circumstance of the utter disruption of village ties brought about by such a proceeding as that of the Mahrāthas in farming out the revenues of villages or Talúkahs to Court favourites, or the highest bidders in the market.

The method under which an ancestrally shared village is continued in the form of a continued joint inheritance is well exemplified by a diagram at the foot of page 77, where the subdivision of an imaginary one of an area of 2,400 acres is traced down to an infinitesimal share in a third subdivision of a division. Subdivisions beyond a point such as this would descend to such a level as to render necessary the substitution for almost a nominal share of some privilege to be enjoyed by the holder in the shape of a favourable rent like those of the "permanent tillers" and *Dhārākaris* mentioned above. As long as the holding of an individual constitutes a share, however minute, the fractional payment of revenue and village expenses corresponds with the fraction of the land owned. But it often happens that in the course of time, owing to some cause or other, as, for instance, the revaluation of assessments by a Revenue Survey and Settlement, the shares cease to be exactly correct. The only alternatives for the sharers in apportioning the State demands they must severally meet are, then, a redistribution of lands in accordance with the revised valuation, or the acceptance by individual sharers as the proportionate payment on their shares of the total revised assessment on their portions of land. The latter alternative has, fortunately in the way of saving trouble to the Revenue administration, been adopted by the greater

number, if not all, of the shareholders in the joint *Narvādar* villages in the *Kairā* (*Khera*) Collectorate in the Bombay Presidency.*

It is possible, as Mr. Baden-Powell remarks, that in joint villages the estate may be actually undivided, though such a case must be rare, and possibly exists in some of the *Tālūkdāri* or *Mevāsi* villages in Ahmadabad. In such cases, as he points out, every co-sharer has possession of a portion of land that he cultivates or holds as a landlord for his own benefit, and the rent of the rest of the cultivated and the profits from the uncultivated land are held in common for the payment of revenue charges and expenses, anything beyond this being divided according to their nominal shares among the whole coparceny.

In speaking of the *Tālūkdāri* and *Mevāsi* villages in Ahmadabad, Mr. Baden-Powell has hardly sufficiently noticed the gradual deterioration in status of these once well-to-do landholders in consequence of the heads of the families having to provide maintenance (under the denomination of *Jirdāi*) for the constantly increasing number of their relatives and the latter's families. The members of these families, being aware that something must according to custom be found for them out of the ancestral property, avoid even cultivating their own lands until they are driven to it from sheer necessity, and for the most part live a life of idleness, preferring to feed on next to nothing so as to retain the nominal dignity of being considered shareholders. Legislation under the *Tālūkdāri* Acts referred to has for the time being saved them from irretrievable ruin, but if something is not done to supply the blank in the incomes of the holders in chief caused by this perpetual drain, a blank that can never be filled by occasional lapses to the main estates, the estates must gradually diminish in value until the whole are held by men in the position of ordinary cultivating *rayats*.

Enough has been said of the intensely interesting subjects dealt with in the book under review to show that it will well repay close study by those who desire to acquire a knowledge of the conditions of land-holding in India.

A. R.

* They retain at the same time their joint responsibility for the payment of the whole rental.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Problem of South African Unity, by W. BASIL WORSFOLD (George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, London). This is a concise and excellent statement of the principles which ought to guide our statesmen in consolidating British rule and supremacy in South Africa, with the ultimate object of confederating the several British colonies. It also contains very important notes on such subjects as the rapid increase of the Batu population, the native franchise in the Cape and Natal colonies, the Glen Grey Act of 1894, the control of the natives and their education, the agricultural and other capacities of the Transvaal, the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, and the respective elements of population, native, Dutch, British, and European. It is an important contribution towards solving the problem of South African unity.

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem: its History and Work in Peace and War, A.D. 1023-1900. A lecture by MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C. (printed by the *Bath Chronicle* office). A very graphic and interesting lecture by a very competent authority. Its object is to promote more widely the operations of the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade Institutions. Major Yate, when in India, succeeded in forming classes—one for ladies and the other for officers—at Dalhousie. The work is so beneficial that similar classes are being established in other centres. "First aid" and "nursing" instruction, in order to save life, is important, not only among the natives of India, but also among Europeans. The aim of the St. John Ambulance Association by popularizing "first aid" knowledge, and by the services of its own trained Ambulance Brigade, helps to reduce the mischief of accidents to a minimum. We trust the work of the institutions will be widely taken in hand throughout the whole of India. Bombay would form an excellent head centre of the associations.

Mahbūb-ul-Albāb—معجوب الالباب, by KHAN BAHADUR MOULVI KHUDĀ BAKHSH KHĀN-SAHIB (printed in Haidarābād, Deccan, and dedicated to His Highness the Nizām). This is a volume of 858 pages in the Persian language, giving the titles, authors, and description of all the Persian and Arabic books in the Haidarābād Library. It is arranged in alphabetical order. Presented by Mr. S. Khudā Bakhsh, M.A. Oxon.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol. ix., Part II. Gujarāt population—Musalmāns and Pārsis. Under Government orders (Government Central Press, Bombay). This volume consists of two parts—the one relating to the Musalmāns, contributed by Khān Bahādur Fazālullah Lutfullah Faridi, Assistant Collector of Customs, Bombay; and the other, or second part, relating to the Pārsis, the joint contribution of the late Mr. Kharsedji Nasarvanji Seervai, J.P., a former Collector of Income Tax, and Khān Bahādur Bamanji Behramji Patel, Bombay. It contains also illustrations and a copious and useful index.

The Upanishads: Chhândogya, vol. iv., Part II., by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras). The encouragement which the writer has received by publishing the first three volumes has prompted him to produce the present, which will be found as interesting as the previous volumes. It is well printed, and affords much valuable information.

Ramayana—The Epic of Rama, Prince of India, condensed into English Verse, by ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E. "The Temple Classics," edited by Israel Gollancy (J. A. Dent and Co., Aldine House, London, W.C.). A conveniently small volume, which will make this celebrated epic better known to the English reader. There is also a valuable epilogue by the well-known author.

Who's Who, 1900. *An Annual Biographical Dictionary*. Fifty-second year of issue (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London). A volume of upwards of 1,000 pages, containing correct information up to date, including many biographies of persons who came into prominence during last year. It forms a valuable acquisition to every library, and a necessary compendium to public men.

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory, 1900. Second year of new issue, edited by EMILY JANES, Secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. Twentieth year (Adam and Charles Black, London). A most useful compilation by many helpers, carefully verified, extending over a large area, such as education, employments of women, and professions; industrial, medicine, science, literature, art, music, sports, pastimes, and social life; public work, philanthropy, temperance, homes and charitable institutions, and religious work. The volume also contains, in alphabetical order, a list of the various homes and charitable institutions relating to women, girls, and children.

The Derbyshire Campaign Series, Nos. 2 and 5—"The 95th (the Derbyshire) Regiment in Central India"; "The 2nd Battalion Derbyshire Regiment in Tirah." The former by GENERAL SIR JULIUS RAINES, with an interesting introduction by COLONEL H. D. HUTCHINSON, I.S.C., Director of Military Education in India; the latter by CAPTAIN A. K. SLESSOR, with an introduction by BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR R. C. HART, V.C., K.C.B., late commanding 1st Brigade Tirah Field Force. These interesting volumes relate the doings and experiences of the Derbyshires. The introduction to the latter, but for his decease, would have been written by Colonel Sir Robert Warburton, whose "lifelong experience of the frontier tribes, and the unbounded personal influence which his relationship with some of their chiefs no doubt assisted him to exert among them, would have added an immense interest and authority to his explanation and discussion of the cause which led up to their revolt against the British rule." Nevertheless, the two works are full of valuable information of the heroic deeds of our army which have brought about peace and order in India. They contain maps and other illustrations, with valuable appendices.

Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa, by DAVID LIVINGSTONE, with portrait and full-page illustrations (Ward, Lock and Co., London). A new edition of Dr. Livingstone's celebrated work, which at the present time will be perused with renewed and intense interest.

The Boer War: its Causes and its Interests to Canadians, with a Glossary of Cape Dutch and Kafir Terms, by E. B. BIGGAR. Fourth edition (Biggar, Samuel and Co., Toronto and Montreal). A well-written short sketch of the Boers and the war, by a Canadian, to his fellow-countrymen, on his return to Canada, after spending five years in South Africa. He shows the great interest which Canadians ought to take in the consolidation of South Africa under British rule. There is appended a table of distances. The glossary of Cape Dutch and Kafir terms will be found very useful to the English reader.

Britain and the Boers. Who is responsible for the War in South Africa? by LEWIS APPLETON, F.R.H.S. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London). An exceedingly useful work for reference, containing the despatches and other documents in chronological order from August 3, 1881, to October 10, 1899, a review of the correspondence, a history of the controversy, and quotations, giving the opinions of our eminent public men from October 11 to December 1, 1899.

True Stories of South Africa, by A SOLDIER (Thomas Burleigh, London). Well-written and chatty stories of the war against the Basutos and other districts in South Africa, including "A Night with the Outposts," "A Narrow Escape," "Women, Soldiers, and Pumpkins," "The Biter Bit," and other interesting particulars in the life and experience of a soldier in time of war.

Special Map of South Africa to illustrate the Military Operations, 1900 (W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London). A large and distinctly coloured map, showing the British colonies, the late Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, with letter-press denoting the various districts, their respective distances, and a diary of the war up to date.

Pocket Guide to Paris. Conty's Practical Guides (A. Nion, 30, Gerrard Street, Soho, London, W.). In view of the Paris Exhibition, this guide will be found exceedingly useful to English and American visitors. Besides numerous illustrations of streets, buildings, etc., and a guide to the whole city, it gives in a handy and concise form practical hints as to hotels, how to economize time, cost of living, and other useful information.

We acknowledge with thanks the reception of the following:

Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1898-99 (Government Central Press, Bombay);—*The Argosy*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1900 (George Allen, London);—*Tuberculosis, the*

Journal of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and other Forms of Tuberculosis, vol. i., No. 2 (published by the Association, 20, Hanover Square, W.);—*The Indian Review*, vol. i., 1900, Nos. 1 and 2 (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The National Magazine*, New Series, a monthly review, vol. xiii., No. 10, October, 1899 (The Muhammadan Orphans' Press, Calcutta);—*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological Society*, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., vol. vi., part iv., 1898 (Baptist Mission Press, Luzac and Co., Calcutta);—*The Periodical*, Nos. ix., x., xi. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, London, E.C.);—*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1897, United States Museum, part i. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1899);—From George Newnes, Limited, London: *The Strand Magazine* for January, February, and March—*The Captain* for January, February, and March—*The Wide World Magazine* for January, February, and March—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for January, February, and March—*Tit-Bits*, weekly—*The Royal Atlas*, parts 16-18—*The Arabian Nights*, parts 13-15—*The King of Illustrated Papers*, weekly—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, parts 3, 4;—*The Koloniale Zeitschrift*, No. 1, January, 1900, edited by Dr. Hans Wagner (Leipzig, fortnightly);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), vol. xvi., No. 2 (The University of Chicago Press, Luzac and Co.);—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*Rivista Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co., London);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable and Co., London);—*The North American Review*, January, February, and March (New York);—*The Madras Review* (Thompson and Co., Minerva Press, Madras);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, (Tunis);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Sphinx*, vol. iii., parts 2, 3;—*Bibliothèque Egyptologique* (Williams and Norgate, Upsala and London).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *Sacred Books of the East, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vol. xlv., part v., Books XI., XII., XIII., XIV. Julius Eggeling, edited by Max Müller (Henry Frowde, Oxford Clarendon Press);—*In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by H. M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*Innermost Asia: Travel and Sport in the Pamirs*, by Ralph P. Cobbold (late 60th Rifles), with maps and illustrations—*The Mysteries of Chronology*, with proposal for a new English era, to be called the Victorian, by F. F. Arbuthnot

(William Heinemann, London, 1900);—*The Romance of Australian Exploring*, by G. Firth Scott, with maps and illustrations (S. Low, Marston and Co., London, 1899);—*The Practical Study of Languages*, a guide for teachers and learners, by Hénry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D., with tables and illustrative quotations (J. M. Dent and Co., London, 1899);—*Impressions of South Africa*, by James Bryce, third edition, revised—*South Africa of To-Day*, by Captain F. Younghusband, C.I.E., with illustrations;—*Southern Arabia*, by Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent (Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1900);—*The Races of Man: an Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*, by J. Deniker, SC.D. (Paris), with 176 illustrations and two maps, The Contemporary Science Series (Walter Scott, Limited, London, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by George E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London, 1899);—*The Chahār Maqāla* ("four discourses") of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūdi-i-Samarqandi, translated by E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (Luzac and Co., London, 1900).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Viceroy asked all the provincial Governments in India to convene public meetings in aid of the Famine Fund, and on February 24 presided at a meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall to form a Famine Relief Fund. His Excellency read a long list of liberal subscriptions promised, headed by a donation of £6,000 from Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Subscriptions to nearly 7 lacs of rupees were subscribed by Calcutta alone; amongst them are the following: The Viceroy, Rs. 10,000; Lady Curzon, Rs. 10,000; Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, Rs. 10,000; the Maharaja of Mymensingh, Rs. 5,000; Raja Ranjit Singh, Rs. 2,000, etc. H.H. the Maharaja Holkar has given a grant of 5 lacs of rupees. The Maharaja of Jeypore a donation of 15 lacs.

The Mansion House Famine Fund amounted on March 23 to £144,000.

The numbers on relief at the beginning of the year were: Bombay, 523,000; Panjāb, 111,000; Central Provinces, 1,173,000; Berar, 199,000; Ajmir, 111,000; Rajputana, 199,000; Central India, 37,000; Bombay States, 330,000; Baroda, 61,000; North-West Provinces, 4,000; Panjāb Native States, 1,000; total, 2,753,000. On March 23, the number is as follows: Bombay, 1,291,000; Panjāb, 242,000; Central Provinces, 1,494,000; Berar, 329,000; Ajmir Marwara, 110,000; Rajputana States, 447,000; Central India States, 119,000; Bombay Native States, 474,000; Baroda, 59,000; North-West Provinces, 3,000; Panjāb Native States, 7,000; Central Province Native States, 47,000; Haiderabad, 182,000; Madras, 6,000; total, 4,810,000.

The plague is fast increasing in Bengal, where there were 4,725 deaths from the disease in the third week in March.

On March 2 Lord Curzon went on a tour to Assam, where he met with a very cordial reception. During his visit, and in reply to an address at Ganhati, he said: "The fact that not a single word of complaint has been expressed in any address regarding the late appalling earthquake, and the havoc which it caused, has stamped the people as a courageous race." He added that the present system of carrying out the railway construction programme was inelastic and faulty, and that he was endeavouring to improve it. He regretted that he was unable to grant Assam a permanent seat on the Legislative Imperial Council. He thanked the people for their loyalty. His visit has given the utmost pleasure to all classes of the Province.

The Indian Tea Association has just published returns showing the outturn of the crop of 1899. This amounted to 174,856,000 lb. There was a marked increase in Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, and the Dooars, but a decrease in Darjeeling district.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga gave a grand fête in Calcutta in February last, when Lord and Lady Curzon, and over a thousand guests were present. His Highness has subscribed Rs. 12,000 to the Transvaal War Fund for the relief of the widows, orphans, and wounded. Amongst other

subscribers are two Ward Raj Estates—Hutwa and Burdwan—Rs. 10,000 each; Tikari, Rs. 7,500; the Nawab Asadullah of Dacca, the Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nandi of Kassimbazar, and the Maharao Umaid Singh (ruling chief of Kotah), Rs. 5,000 each.

The Viceroy has presented the Cross of the Bath to Colonel the Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Pratab Singh, of Patiala, for services rendered in the Mohmand Expedition of 1897, and in Tirah.

The Indian Mines Bill, by which it was sought to impose vexatious restrictions on labour, thus handicapping the coal and the gold industries, has been postponed for a year, in order that further information may be obtained.

The Copyright Press Bill has been postponed for further consideration, in consequence of numerous objections from all sides.

The total gold in reserve held in India is now about 8 crores of rupees.

Mr. John Power Wallis, barrister-at-law, has been appointed Advocate-General at Madras in lieu of Mr. Arnold White, who has become Chief Justice.

The Russian Government has appointed M. de Klemm, an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consul-General at Bombay.

The report of the Indo-European Telegraph Department for 1898-99 shows a net profit of Rs. 6,97,303 on the year's working, which gives a return of 6.03 per cent. on the capital invested, against that of 6.57 of the preceding year.

The net receipts last year of the Indian Post Office increased by Rs. 3,91,000, while the charges only rose by Rs. 67,000. The net financial surplus was Rs. 22,21,000, as compared with 18½ lacs in the previous year.

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir William Lockhart, died in Calcutta on March 18.

The Indian Budget statement for the year 1900-1901 was presented at the Viceroy's Council on March 21. The accounts for 1898-99 closed with a surplus of £2,641,000. The surplus for 1899-1900, in spite of a famine expenditure of £2,055,000, amounted to £2,553,000. It is estimated that next year there will be a surplus of £160,000, notwithstanding a famine expenditure of £3,335,000, and an increase of £746,000 in the military estimates.

India has met all demands for famine relief and railway construction without borrowing, and has passed to a gold standard through ordinary trade operations without adding to her indebtedness.

The total trade for all India for the ten months ending January 31, 1900, was greater than for the same period in 1899, which was considered an abnormal year.

The fifteenth Indian National Congress was held at Lucknow from December 27 to December 30 last. Nearly a thousand delegates were present, including over four hundred Muhammadans. There were 5,000 visitors. The Congress unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions. It protested against the Panjāb Land Alienation Bill, on the ground that it was calculated

to diminish agricultural credit and impoverish the ryots. It expressed dissatisfaction with the currency measures of the Government, which, it declared, would have the result of depreciating the value of the savings of the masses, enhancing rents and indebtedness, and injuriously affecting manufacturers. A resolution was also adopted earnestly hoping that every effort would be made to stem the tide of alleged reactionary measures. Undiminished confidence was expressed in Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The next Congress will meet at Lahore.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—Fort Jamrud will not be made over to the Khaibar Rifles, but will continue to be garrisoned by regular troops from Peshawar.

NATIVE STATES.—The Nizam of Haiderabad has offered his resources for the defence of the Empire. The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has asked permission to send troops and transport to South Africa, as also most of the reigning Princes and nobles of India. Among the former may be noted the Guikwar of Baroda, the Maharajas of Mysore, Jeypore, Jodhpur, Patiala, Ulwar, and Kashmir, the Begum of Bhopal, the Nawabs of Rampur and Bawalpur, and the Rajas of Nabha, Jhind, Faridkhot, etc. The Government has accepted horses for service from most of the above-mentioned States. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has expressed through the Viceroy her warm appreciation of the loyalty thus exhibited.

BURMA.—The first session of the Burma Legislative Council this year was held on January 4 last, when the Hon. Mr. Bayne introduced the Burma Vaccination Law Amendment Bill, and the Hon. Mr. Richards the Rangoon Waterworks Act Amendment Bill.

The Bill creating changes in the judicial system of Lower Burma is now under consideration by the British Parliament. See our article on the subject.

The surplus revenue last year amounted to 293 lacs of rupees, having risen from 235 lacs, the surplus of the previous year. Deducting the cost of the garrison, which amounts to 38 lacs, there is a net surplus of 255, which represents Burma's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. Burma promises, at this rate, to become the most prosperous province of the Indian Empire.

A serious outrage was committed by the Was tribe on the British members of the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission, east of the Salween. The attack took place at midnight, February 17. The assailants were repulsed, but Major Kiddle, R.A.M.C., and Mr. Sutherland, political officer, were killed, and Mr. Litton, British Consul at Szu-mao, wounded. The Boundary Commissioners, with a large force of British and Chinese troops, while exacting reparation for this outrage, met with a strong resistance. Sixty Was were killed, and the Chinese troops burned 2,000 houses.

An exploring-party of 75 Ghurka police, under Mr. Hertz and Captain Taylor, was attacked on February 13. Captains Taylor and Holloway, and four Ghurkas, were wounded.

CEYLON.—The tea crop for export during this year has been estimated at 138,000,000 lb., which is apportioned as follows: Russia, 6,000,000 lb.

Australia, 16,000,000 lb.; America, 5,500,000 lb.; other countries, 2,500,000 lb. Total for foreign countries, 30,000,000 lb., leaving for the United Kingdom, 108,000,000 lb.

The colony is ahead of India in the matter of bacteriology. On January 31 last the Governor formally opened the Bacteriological Institution at Colombo, which has been organized and fitted up through the liberality of Mr. de Soysa, the Ceylon millionaire.

BALUCHISTAN.—The trade with Persia by the Nushki route is rapidly developing. Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, late Consul at Kerman, in Persia, and Captain Webb Ware, the political officer at Nushki, have been strenuously co-operating during the last few years with a view to organizing a through trade route between these two towns, running on to Quetta. Postal stations have already been established along this route, and a telegraph is now under construction, the wire having been carried from Quetta to Panj-pai, within 50 miles of Nushki. Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes despatched an experimental caravan laden with Persian goods to Quetta. The experiment is watched with great interest.

PERSIA.—H.I.M. the Shah, who intends to visit Europe and the Paris Exhibition this year, has been formally invited to pay a visit to England.

The Russian Bank, at the request of the Government of the Shah, has advanced the sum of 22½ million roubles at 5 per cent. to enable it to redeem the £500,000 loan of 1892, and to pay off the floating debt and salaries, and provide the Treasury with a balance.

It is reported that a Russo-Persian Company, which has been in existence some years past, has now obtained the concession for the Karakilissa-Tabriz-Teheran Railway.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes has been appointed Military Attaché to Sir H. Mortimer Durand, the British Minister at Teheran, and Major Chenevix Trench is going to Seistan as British Agent and Consular Representative in his place.

AFGHANISTAN.—The whole of the country is absolutely peaceful. The Amir is enjoying good health, and in public durbar has stated that he is ready to place his troops at the disposal of the British Government to defend the British Empire.

Rassaldar-Major Nawaz Khan, 15th Bengal Lancers, has been appointed British Agent at Kabul in the place of Nawab Ghafur Khan, retired.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Trans-Baikal section of the Siberian Railway, extending over a distance of 1,034 kilometres, was opened for traffic on February 4 last, thereby establishing uninterrupted steam communication from Western Europe through Asia to the Pacific Coast. The construction of the railway through Manchuria is proceeding rapidly; more than 800 kilometres of line, out of the 2,500 required to connect the Trans-Baikal with Dalny and Port Arthur, have been laid, and traffic has been provisionally opened between Port Arthur and Mukden. As an inducement for emigration from Russia to the Far East, the Russian Government has fixed the fares on the Siberian Railway at a merely nominal figure, the fare from Kieff to Khabarovsk being as low as £2 10s. Thousands are taking advantage of this, and will leave for the Usuri region this spring.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The 'Alim Jebedullah, who had been exiled to Tayif for heading a deputation which waited upon the British Ambassador in November last to express the sympathy of Muhammadans with England, after undergoing very harsh treatment, has been sent to Jiddah.

The Russian Government continues to press for the repatriation of Armenian refugees, which is strongly opposed by the Sultan.

German post-offices have been inaugurated at Smyrna, Beirut, and Jerusalem.

Baghdad, and some other towns in the same province, where military disturbances, pillage, etc., have been caused by the non-payment of the troops, have been temporarily tranquillized by the payment of a fortnight's pay.

The preliminary convention embodying the substance of the *Irâdê* on the Konieh-Basra railway was signed on December 23 last.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—Mr. Hugh Charles Clifford, late British Minister at Pahang, has taken up his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the territories under the jurisdiction of the Chartered Company.

A force of Sikhs, under Captain Harrington, started from Gaya, and, after seven days' march, fought two engagements with Mat Salleh, who had induced the Taga tribe to support him. He was defeated and killed. The Tagas have all submitted, and the rebel power in the interior has been completely broken up.

The Company have contracted for the construction of a railway, 60 miles in length, to connect the harbour of Gaya with Brunel Bay (where coal exists in large quantities), and the line now under construction with the interior.

PHILIPPINES.—In January Colonel Bullard made a successful move southward, and captured Santa Tomaz. The report of the Philippines Commission regarding the establishment of civil government in the islands has been submitted to the American Congress by the President. It unreservedly favours an administration analogous to that of a territory in the United States.

CHINA.—Li Hung Chang entered upon his new appointment as Viceroy of Liang-Kwang in January last.

Pirates, emboldened by successes, have been attempting to blackmail foreign firms in Canton under a threat of blowing up their offices with dynamite.

An edict was signed in January by the Emperor Kwang Su, appointing as Emperor in his place Put Sing, a nine-year-old son of Prince Tuano. The edict is regarded as the natural result of the *coup d'état* of 1898, giving increased power to the Dowager Empress. It is noteworthy that the selection of a posthumous heir, in the absence of male issue of the Sovereign, in conformity with the national usage, has a precedent in the adoption of a successor to Hsien Feng in 1854, who was subsequently set aside at the birth of the Emperor Tung Chi.

An edict has been issued commanding Li Hung Chang to desecrate and destroy the tombs of the ancestors of Kang Yu-Wei, the reformer.

The anti-foreign attitude of the Government is becoming more pronounced. Several Chinese have been impeached on account of their relations with foreign enterprises. Sir Claude MacDonald has been taking active steps to release several who have been arrested and imprisoned on that account.

The Shanghai American Association is of opinion that the attitude of the Dowager Empress towards the reformers will defeat the "open-door" policy in China, and that rebellion and anarchy are apprehended, and recommends prompt action on the part of the foreign Powers in China.

JAPAN.—A significant sign of the part which Japan intends to play in Chinese politics in the future is that the Japanese Government has definitely offered to establish a military academy at Peking for the education of Chinese cadets by Japanese officers. The Chinese Government has not yet definitely replied whether the offer will be accepted, but it is believed that there is a disposition in Government circles to favourably entertain the proposal.

EGYPT.—The Khedive has signed the decree renewing the prolongation of the Mixed Tribunals for five years from February 1 last.

The financial accounts for 1899 show a surplus of £1,190,000 sterling. Comprised in the expenditure is an item of £272,000, representing the annual saving from the conversion of the Privileged Debt. Of the surplus, £778,000 is paid to the general reserve fund at the Caisse de la Dette, leaving £412,000 at the disposal of Government.

SUDAN.—The first through train from Cairo to Khartum reached the latter place on January 10.

Osman Digna, who was hiding in the hills near Tokar, was captured in January by a party sent out from Suakin.

Major Peake has met, south of Jebel Ain, on the White Nile, a reconnoitring-party from Uganda, under Captain Gage. He also met a party of Belgians, under Major Henry and Lieutenant Monquedec, with Senegalese tirailleurs from Shambe. All proceeded to Omdurman. The French have evacuated Meshra-er-Rek and Fort Desaix. Major Peake reports from the White Nile that the third block of the *sudd* barriers was opened in February.

Sir Francis Wingate and Sir Rennell Rodd are going to Kassala to delimit the Erythraea-Sudan frontier.

Cases of insubordination occurred in two Sudanese battalions stationed at Omdurman. A court of inquiry has condemned seven Egyptian officers to dismissal from the service; one to be reduced in rank, and to be subsequently discharged with ignominy; two to be placed on the unattached list; and two to be reprimanded and placed at the bottom of the roll of officers. On March 15 His Highness the Khedive personally addressed and reprimanded the cashiered officers, and said that should any similar conduct occur again, it would meet with much heavier punishment.

EAST AFRICA.—Owing to the partial strike among the subordinate employes engaged on the construction of the Uganda Railway, the running of trains has been temporarily suspended.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—The Uganda Railway telegraph line reached the

Nile at Ripon Falls on February 18, thus establishing telegraphic communication between London and the sources of the Nile.

A force, under Mr. Sharpe, the Administrator of British Central Africa, and Captain Margesson and Lieutenant Barclay, proceeded last October against Kazembe, one of the last Arab chiefs remaining in Northern Rhodesia, and who had been terrorizing the natives under his power and stopping British traders. Overtures were made to him on nearing his town, but in every case they were insolently rejected. On the arrival of the force, the town was found deserted, Kazembe having fled across the Tapala marshes into the Congo Free State.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The situation in South Africa when our last issue went to press was as follows :

NATAL.—General Sir G. White, with his forces, was besieged by the Boers at Ladysmith. General Sir Redvers Buller was advancing *via* Colenso to his relief. At Mafeking, on the north-west, Colonel Baden-Powell was holding out against a superior number of the enemy, who held possession of the country between that place and Kimberley. At the latter place Colonel Kekewich was also besieged, and his communications cut off. A force under Lord Methuen was advancing to his relief, and had fought battles at Belmont, Graspan, Modder River, and Magersfontein respectively, the losses on our side being great.

On December 15 General Sir Redvers Buller, having made an unsuccessful attempt to advance to the relief of Ladysmith, retired to Chieveley Camp, with a loss of eleven guns and 1,097 officers and men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

On December 23 Lord Roberts left England to take the chief command of British forces in South Africa.

General Buller crossed the Tugela and captured Spion Kop on January 23. The position had to be abandoned the next night, as it was found to be untenable, and he withdrew across the river.

On February 5 he again crossed the Tugela and attacked the Vaal Krantz range, but three days later was compelled to retire to the south side of the river.

On February 20 he attacked and occupied Colenso, and gradually drove the enemy back, taking position after position, when on February 28 Ladysmith was relieved, the enemy retiring with great precipitation to the north and west. The main force of Boers took up positions on the Biggarsberg and at Glencoe.

On Lord Roberts advancing at Magersfontein, the Boers under General Cronje, though strongly entrenched, saw that their position was in jeopardy. On General French with a force of cavalry and field artillery outflanking them, they retreated, one body going east towards Bloemfontein and the remainder northwards. The former under General Cronje, numbering 4,600, were overtaken and surrounded in the bed of the Modder River at Paardeberg. After suffering several days bombardment and making an heroic resistance, the whole force surrendered on February 27. In the meantime General French had relieved Kimberley.

Lord Roberts followed up this success by marching on Bloemfontein, and after several engagements he entered the capital without opposition on March 13, President Steyn and the main Boer forces fleeing to the north.

Overtures for peace were received from the Presidents of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State on March 6 by Lord Salisbury, based on the independence of the Republics, to which a reply was given to the effect that Her Majesty's Government was not prepared to assent to the independence of either of the Republics.

In the north of Cape Colony the Boer commandos which were in possession of Colesberg, Dordrecht, Lady Grey, and Barkly East, all fell back, and crossed the Orange River, before Generals Clements, Brabant, and Gatacre, and dispersed in the direction of Basutoland.

General Pole-Carew with a Brigade of Guards went by train from Bloemfontein as far as Springfontein, the railway being intact to Norvals Pont. They have now returned to Bloemfontein. Regular train service with the Cape was opened on March 19 *viâ* Bethulie.

MAFEKING is still besieged.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports in 1899 amounted to £19,207,549, against £16,682,438 in the previous year. The exports were £23,333,600, as compared with £25,318,701 in 1898.

NIGERIA.—On taking over the administration at Lokoja on January 4, the Queen's proclamation was read by the High Commissioner, Brigadier-General Lugard, who took oath of office and administered the same to Mr. W. Wallace, the Senior Resident; Mr. Mark Kerr, Colonial Secretary; and Mr. Alistair Davidson, Attorney-General. The proclamation was interpreted to the assembled natives.

The new territories will be divided, for administrative purposes, into districts with Residents, and subdivisions with Assistant-Residents. Borgu will be under a Military Governor.

Captain Lang, C.M.G., and other British Commissioners have been selected to meet French Commissioners at Chaouron for the purpose of settling the boundary from the 9th parallel of longitude and the river Ocpara up to the Niger, besides fixing the position of two *enclaves* on the Niger to be leased to France.

Captain Carroll, of the Norfolk Regiment, and 150 men of the West African Frontier Force, while escorting the telegraph construction staff north-east of Lokoja, were attacked on January 9 by 2,000 Mitchi and Bassa tribesmen. Captain Eaton, of the East Kent Regiment, was severely wounded. The tribesmen left eighty dead on the field. A punitive expedition, composed of 500 men with guns, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowry Cole, has defeated the tribesmen, inflicting heavy loss.

LAGOS.—Frederick G. Osborne, Esquire, has been appointed by Her Majesty to be an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the colony.

The prospects of the colony are bright. By the arrangement made with France, by which certain territory between Lagos and the Niger is recog-

nised as within the British sphere, while British rights over Sokoto are admitted, the pacification of a large tract of country is secured, and a large increase is expected in the cultivation of economic products. In 1889 the total export and import trade was £839,504; in 1898 it was £1,775,192, while the revenue rose from £57,633 to £196,444.

CANADA.—The grain yield of the North-West Territories during the past year amounted to 12,000,000 bushels.

The main estimates for the public service of the Dominion during the fiscal year beginning July 1 have been laid on the table of the House of Commons at Ottawa. They amount to \$49,068,391, of which \$20,475,350 is authorized by statute and \$28,593,641 is to be voted. This total is \$2,781,841 greater than the main estimate of last year, and \$2,048,482 less than the total estimates of 1900, which included two large supplementary votes.

The British Columbian Government has been defeated on the second reading of the Redistribution Bill by a vote of 19 to 18. The Government was dismissed by the Lieutenant-Governor, who invited Mr. J. Martin to form a Government.

A large part of the business section of Dawson City, Klondyke, was burned on January 10. The loss is estimated at \$500,000.

At Ottawa on March 16 the Senate adopted a resolution proposed by Sir Mackenzie Bowell setting forth that "serious delays having occurred in the prosecution of the Pacific cable undertaking through the hostility of the Eastern Extension Company, which is now demanding concessions from Australia that if granted will imperil its success, this House is of opinion that any further delay in proceeding with the construction of the cable will be inimical to the interests of the Empire, and strongly deprecates granting further concessions to the Eastern Extension or any other companies."

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Bill re-enacting the *modus vivendi* was passed unanimously on February 20 and the Legislature prorogued. The Bond and Morris factions were unable to unite in forming a Ministry, and the lack of suitable men prevented the formation of a Cabinet from the Bond party alone. The Governor therefore desired Sir James Winter to continue in office temporarily until a solution should be arrived at. The Premier promised to do so, but on March 8 the Bond and Morris factions effected a union and secured a majority in the Legislature, and on March 15 the Cabinet was formed as follows: Mr. Bond, Premier; Mr. Cowan, Finance Portfolio; Mr. Lorwood, Justice; Mr. Murphy, Fisheries; Mr. Harvey, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Dawe, Mines; Mr. Woodford, Public Works. Mr. Knowing, the Leader of the Upper House, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Furlong are Ministers without portfolios.

AUSTRALASIA.—The gold yield of the seven Australasian colonies in 1899 has been estimated at 4,462,488 oz.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The gold yield for December last amounted to 50,058 oz. Exclusive of 10,719 oz. sent to the Victorian Mint, the yield for last year was 509,418 oz., valued at £1,936,985.

A conference of Premiers, convened by Mr. Lyne in January, decided

to send a delegate from each federating colony to England to explain the Commonwealth Bill to the Imperial Government. The delegates are now in London. See our article on the Bill.

The Hon. Henry Copeland has been appointed Agent-General for the colony in London.

VICTORIA.—The Victorian and New South Wales Governments have agreed to accept the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company's proposals to lay a direct cable between the Cape and Australia, and considerably to reduce the present charges, on condition that the company is allowed to open its own offices in the principal cities for the receipt and despatch of messages.

Mr. Chamberlain has endorsed a protest from the Pacific Cable Board against the above concessions, and the Premiers of Victoria and New South Wales are considering the subject.

The value of the Victorian butter exported last year was £1,404,364, or double the value of that exported in the previous year. The yield of gold last year was 862,411 oz.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the first eight months of last year amounted to £3,043,500, as compared with £2,708,500 for the same period of 1898. The expenditure was £2,605,300, as compared with £2,310,400 during the same period of 1898. The revenue exceeded the expenditure by £438,300. The yield of gold for 1899 was 947,626 oz.

WEST AUSTRALIA.—The total revenue for the year 1899 amounted to £2,633,081, against £2,604,942 during 1898. The yield of gold for 1899 was 1,643,871 oz.

NEW ZEALAND.—Statistical returns show that the population on December 31, 1899, was 796,389, including 39,854 Maoria. The value of the imports for 1899 is £8,739,633, and that of exports £11,938,335, including dairy produce £701,742, and gold £1,513,173.

SAMOA.—After the United States Senate had ratified the new Samoan treaty, the German flag was hoisted at Apia on March 1, the ceremony being attended by the officials of the treaty Powers and by Mataafa and Tamasese. A public reconciliation subsequently took place between the two chiefs. Dr. Solf, President of the Municipality, is Governor, and Herr Knipping acts as Chief Judge and Vice-Governor. The Supreme Court, the Municipal Council and Magistracy, and the Consular Courts have been abolished. Existing laws remain in force. The natives are awaiting news from Germany regarding the future form of Government.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of:—The Hon. Naoroji N. Wadia, C.I.E., a prominent citizen of Bombay;—Vice-Admiral S. S. Lowther Crofton (China 1841);—Major-General Sir F. R. Pollock, K.C.S.I. (Panjāb 1848, Frontier expeditions, Seistan Mission, etc.);—General H. Hopkinson, C.S.I., Bengal Staff Corps (Koladyne Hill expedition 1847-48, Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Burma 1852, Bhutān 1865);—Major S. M. Mason, 4th Lancers (Burma 1888-89);—Major-General A. H. King, C.B. (Crimea);—Major-General W. K. Fooks (Sutlej 1846, Multān and Gujerāt 1848-49, Kohat Pass 1850, Mutiny);—The Rt. Hon.

Harry Escombe, ex-Premier of Natal ;—Colonel R. O. F. Steward (Crimea); —Colonel F. V. G. Bird, R.M.L.I. (Zulu war 1879); —Major-General G. Hutchinson, C.B., C.S.I (Sutlej 1846, Mutiny); —Captain C. F. Newland, R.N. (Borneo expedition 1846); —Major-General E. A. Saunders, formerly Madras Staff Corps (Central India 1858-59); —Colonel W. H. Watson, R.A. (Crimea); —Major-General A. R. McMahon (second Burmese war); —Colonel E. de Laval Tarleton, late R.A. (Mutiny); —Lieutenant-Colonel W. Handyside, late R.A. (Crimea); —Sir Gregory Paul, Advocate-General, Calcutta; —Mr. E. L. Layard, formerly Ceylon Civil Service; —Lieutenant-Colonel T. N. Young, formerly Cheshire Regiment (Peshawar Frontier 1853); —Surgeon-Major A. Grant, Bengal Army, retired; —Commander G. K. Moore, R.N. (Zulu war 1877-79); —Captain H. G. Leigh (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85); —Colonel H. O. Selby, R.E. (Afghan war 1879-80); —Major-General H. E. T. Williams (Burma 1852, Mutiny campaign); —Deputy Surgeon-General D. Cullen (Crimea, Mutiny); —Captain G. O'Brien Theodore Carew, C.I.E., late Indian Navy (Mutiny); —Captain P. H. Price-Dent, Devonshire Regiment (Chitral relief and Tirah expeditions); —Vice-Admiral R. Duckworth-King (Black Sea, China); —Rear-Admiral S. C. Darwin (Malay Peninsula, Abyssinia); —General Boyd, Bombay Staff Corps; —Major-General H. T. Duncan, C.S.I., late I.S.C.; —Mr. Thomas Shelford, C.M.G., member of the Legislative Council, Straits Settlements; —Dr. R. Collum, the late Hon. East India Company's Service (Sind); —Colonel Sir Trevor Wheler, late Indian Staff Corps (Sutlej 1846, Burma 1852-53, Mutiny campaign, Central India, Eusofzai expedition 1863, Bhutan 1865-66); —General J. E. Thackwell, C.B. (Sind, Crimea); —Colonel T. T. Carter-Campbell, R.E. (Sikkim, Umbeyla, Abyssinia); —Sir A. C. Weldon, for some years in the Madras Army; —Colonel M. F. Stokes (Burma 1886-89); —The Marquis of Lothian; —Vice-Admiral W. H. Haswell (St. Jean d'Acre, West Coast of Africa, etc.); —Captain A. S. Wingate, killed in South Africa (Chitral Relief Force, Tochi Field Force and Tirah campaign); —Lord Ava, of wounds in South Africa; —Lieutenant-Colonel R. F. Darvall (Afghan war 1879-80); —Mr. F. C. Crump, C.S., Haiderabad Residency; —Lieutenant-General W. H. Whitlock (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign); —Baron von Ernsthausen; —Lieutenant-Colonel A. Boulger, V.C. (Mutiny, Egypt 1882); —Major-General A. H. Heath, late R.A. (Panjab 1848-49, Delhi 1857); —Mr. N. R. Ranina, author and journalist; —The Rev. Dr. Chalmers, of Chemulpo, Korea, a learned authority on China; —General J. M. Perceval, C.B. (Kaffir war 1852-53); —Major A. O. White (Zulu war 1879); —Major-General Sir C. Louis, R.M. (Syria, Baltic); —Lieutenant W. St. Aubyn Wake, D.S.O. (Benin and Siama expeditions); —Mr. C. Paget Carmichael, C.S.I., late Bengal Civil Service; —Major-General G. G. Cunliffe, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny); —Colonel J. G. Cockburn, late Royal Worcester Regiment (Hazara, Black Mountain, and Lushai expeditions); —Colonel E. W. Cuming (Crimea); —Major A. W. Cockburn, late R.E. (Burma 1886-87); —Admiral E. H. Somerset, F.R.G.S. (Baltic 1854-55); —General G. C. Clarke, C.B. (Crimea); —Captain R. E. Foley (Hazara and Manipur expeditions); —Lieutenant-Colonel Ambrose H. Bircham, late

King's Royal Rifle Corps (Zulu campaign 1879); Captain H. J. Wallack (Sutlej campaign 1845-46); Vice-Admiral George Wodehouse (Navarino, Baltic);—Lieutenant-Colonel G. B. Paton (Perak expedition 1875-76);—Major-General C. M. Cotton;—Admiral T. H. Mason (China);—Rev. W. H. Green, head of the Theological Department of Princetown University, U.S.A., and a Professor of Biblical and Oriental literature;—General H. A. Carleton, R.A. (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major-General A. R. Fraser, late 3rd Madras Light Infantry;—Major-General E. N. Norton, Madras Staff Corps (Goomsoor campaign 1847);—Captain H. G. Majendie, Rifle Brigade, in South Africa (Burma 1888-89, Sudan 1898);—Captain R. J. Vernon, King's Royal Rifle Corps, in South Africa (Manipūr expedition 1891);—Captain H. M. Blair, Seaforth Highlanders, in South Africa (Chitral Relief expedition);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Aldworth, D.S.O., in South Africa (Burma 1885, Isazai expedition 1892, Chitral Relief Force 1895, Tirah 1897-98);—Captain E. J. Dewar, King's Royal Rifle Corps (Manipūr expedition);—Major-General G. W. C. Plowden, late I.S.C. (Indian Mutiny campaigns);—Lieutenant-Colonel M. E. H. O. Welch, I.C.S.;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. A. Freeman, late East Surrey Regiment (Sudan 1885);—Mr. A. B. Sutherland, political officer to the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission (killed near the Salween);—Major C. R. Day, Oxford Light Infantry, in South Africa (Malabar 1885);—Captain T. H. Berney, West Yorkshire Regiment, in South Africa (Ashanti expedition 1895-96);—General E. J. Lawder, late Madras Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny campaign 1858-59);—Major E. L. Guilding, Essex Regiment (Sudan 1884);—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel C. G. H. Sitwell, D.S.O., in South Africa (Afghanistan, Egypt 1882, Uganda Protectorate);—Captain the Hon. R. H. L. J. de Montmorency, 21st Empress of India's Lancers, in South Africa (Sudan 1898);—Captain R. H. E. Holt, R.A.M.C., in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Captain S. L. V. Crealock, Somerset Regiment, in South Africa (Burma 1885-87);—Lieutenant V. F. A. Keith-Falconer, Somerset Regiment, in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Lieutenant H. N. Field, Devon Regiment, in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—General Bukshi Gunda Singh, C.S.I., Commander-in-Chief of the Patiala Army (Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Lady Seshadri Iyer, wife of the Dewan of Mysore;—Colonel O. C. Hannay, late Argyll Highlanders, in South Africa (Zulu campaign 1879);—Colonel W. H. Davis, late Inniskilling Fusiliers (Eusofzai expedition, Mutiny);—Captain C. W. C. Cass, 1st Shropshire Regiment (Sudan expedition 1885);—General Sir William Lockhart, Commander-in-Chief in India (Bhutan 1864-66, Abyssinia 1867-68, North-West Frontier 1868, Sumatra 1875-77, Afghanistan 1879-80, Burma 1885-87, Miranzai 1891, Isazai 1892, Waziristan 1894-95, and Tirah 1897);—Sir Edmund Fane, British Minister to Denmark;—Admiral Sir Henry Fairfax (Africa, Australia);—Captain John Wilson, North Staffordshire Regiment (Dongola expedition 1886).

March 23rd, 1900.



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